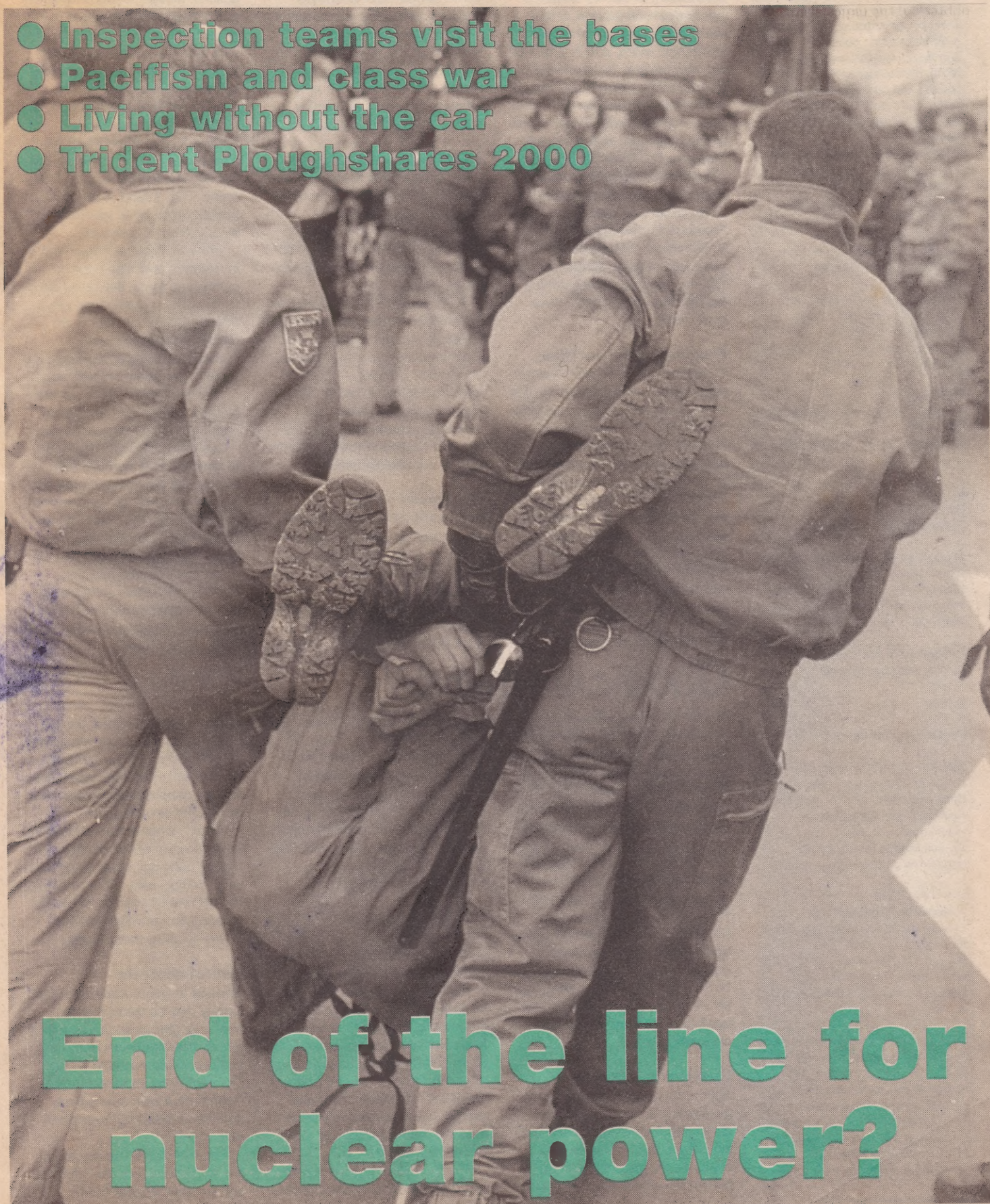


Peace News

for nonviolent revolution

No 2424 • April 1998 • £1

- Inspection teams visit the bases
- Pacifism and class war
- Living without the car
- Trident Ploughshares 2000



End of the line for nuclear power?

A demonstrator is arrested at recent protests against nuclear waste transports to Ahaus, Germany (see page 5).

PHOTO: ANDREW TESTA

Peace News is published 11 times a year by Peace News Limited, a joint project of Peace News Trustees, an independent non-profit organisation which exists to promote pacifist publishing, and War Resisters' International (WRI), an international network of pacifist and anti-militarist organisations in over 30 countries. The editorial objectives of Peace News are to:

- Support and connect nonviolent and anti-militarist movements around the world
- Provide a forum where such movements can develop common perspectives
- Take up and promote issues suitable for international campaigning
- Promote pacifist analysis by testing assumptions against contemporary events
- Promote and give critical support to nonviolent revolution

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Editorial

No war but the class war?

The bourgeoisie has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless infeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom — Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

So wrote Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, first published 150 years ago. It goes without saying that the bourgeoisie has done a fair bit more since those words were written.

Revolutionary pacifism

That there is a class war — of rich against poor — is undeniable. It is not the only war going on, but it's a major one and deserves the attention and involvement of pacifists. When AJ Muste writes in his classic essay, "Pacifism and Class War" (pages 12–13), that "In a world built on violence, one must be a revolutionary before one can be a pacifist", he is partly warning against tendencies within pacifism to ignore economic injustice. Violence comes in many forms — not just from the barrel of a gun.

Given that we want to create a world free of economic exploitation, what ways forward are open to us? The ideal seems clear: a world in which people have adequate shelter and food; in which everyone can engage in meaningful work; in which people are in control of the land they farm, the means of the production they employ, the media they enjoy, and countless other things.

Tactics and strategies

And getting there? General strike? Revolution? Election? Co-operatives? Parallel institutions? Secession? Consumer power? Union activity? International solidarity? Education? Ongoing non-violent resistance?

All these tactics and strategies are available to pacifists (even the classical idea of revolution — a momentous event rather than a continuous process — doesn't have to employ violence). We must choose our tactics and strategies according to their predictable consequences and in the light of our pacifist ethics.

Consumer power

But we shouldn't underestimate what we're up against. Take for instance, consumer power.

Some declare that we don't have much hope right now of influencing things by control of the means of production, but we *do* have significant power at the point

of consumption. They point to a variety of successful boycotts.

Recent responses by multinational testify to the power of such actions. Monsanto has deliberately got US soya distributors to mix genetically modified (GM) soya with non-GM soya, making consumer boycotts much more difficult (boycotters now have to avoid most soya products, rather than one particular brand).

The US Department of Agriculture (see page 8) is trying to redefine organic food to include GM crops. They intend to prosecute bodies which try to introduce a stricter organic standard.

If the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (see also page 8) comes into force, this could effectively outlaw organic food production around the world. So much for consumer choice! Perhaps we'll see an underground trade in genuinely organic foods.

These people — let's call them the bourgeoisie for the sake of editorial and historical continuity — are obviously fairly desperate to maintain and increase their profits. We are going to have to be even more tenacious, committed, strategic and adaptable to outlive their priorities and practices. Perhaps then we'll be able to indulge in a little heavenly ecstasy, chivalrous enthusiasm, or even philistine sentimentalism — devoid of religious and political illusions, of course!

Good citizenship?

In 1996 the International Court of Justice (ICJ) famously ruled that the use or threat to use nuclear weapons is (probably) illegal (see November 1996 PN). Since then, many Western peace activists have been enthusiastically portraying themselves as law-abiding, law-enforcing citizens, and nuclear-armed governments as the real criminals. Particularly since the recent brouhaha over weapons inspections in Iraq, we have seen citizens' inspections teams, burrowing, snipping, sailing into (or even flying over) suspected nuclear sites (see news item opposite).

Upstanding citizens

After years of being vilified, marginalised and criminalised, it's quite a relief to feel like an upstanding citizen. Such a stance has enabled new people to join the peace movement and even take

part in nonviolent direct action. But there are perhaps problems with such an approach. Firstly, even though the legal case against nuclear weapons is now fairly strong, our ruling institutions do many terrible, and perfectly legal things — we need other enduring ethical and human criteria by which to judge their actions.

Feudal allegiance

Secondly, the notion of "citizenship" implies acceptance of the legitimacy of the nation state, one of the main perpetrators of organised violence. In the original sense of the word, a "citizen" is someone who owes allegiance to a particular state, and is entitled to assistance from it in return. In feudal systems the citizen of course pays "allegiance" in military service. More modern citizens gladly pay their war taxes instead.

Thirdly, there is a world of difference between theory and practice

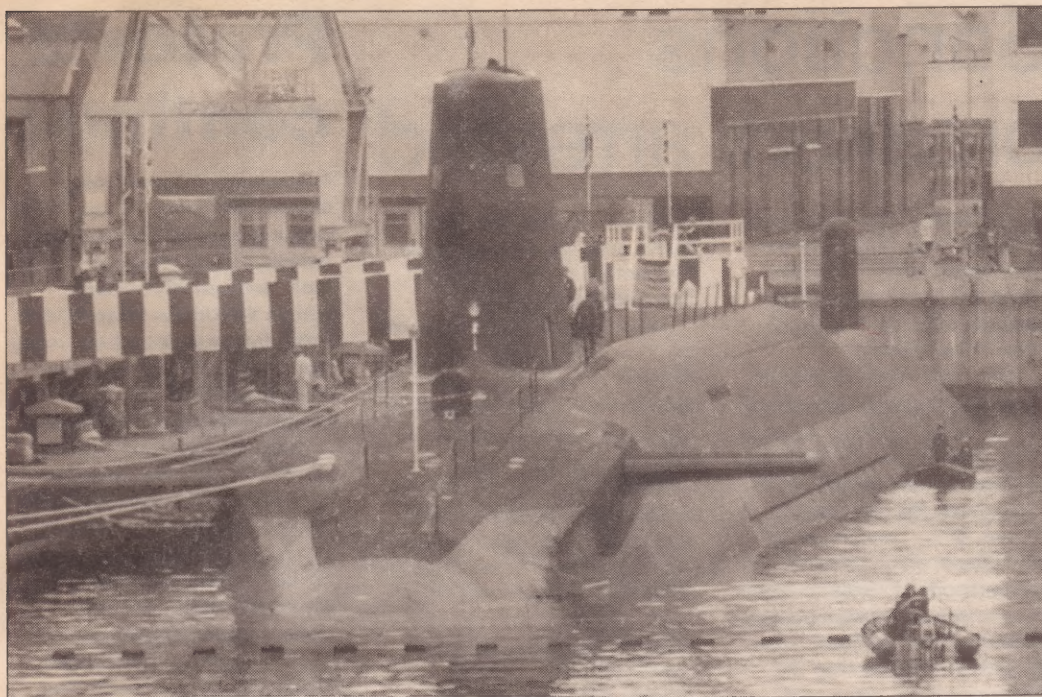
in law — however good the law sounds on paper, courts are self-perpetuating, patriarchal institutions which show little inclination to treat people equally, redistribute wealth or outlaw war.

Finally, when it comes down to it, the powers of this world will happily carry on in their illegal ways — exploiting every slight ambiguity (as with the ICJ ruling), or simply ignoring courts which have no power to make them comply.

Useful rhetoric

Appeals to good citizenship and legality may be useful rhetoric, they may give us some temporary kudos, they may even baffle the authorities momentarily — but ultimately they support the very institutions which oppress us, and are no basis for nonviolent revolution.

Legal or illegal, nuclear arms are an immoral, obscene outrage and we must abolish them.



Inspecting Trident... the more regular guards take a look at a sub berthed at Barrow.

PHOTO: CND

Four women in a boat

Four women from Coulport Women's Peace Camp — held over the weekend of 13–15 March to celebrate International Women's Week — ended up in an unusual getaway vehicle during an "inspection" of Coulport Trident missile base in Scotland.

On Friday 13 March, Tracy Hart, Sylvia Boyes, Jenny Gaiawyn and Angie Zelter passed five fences and spent two hours checking the base for nuclear materials, before they chanced upon an unattended police launch. Borrowing the boat for the sea-borne leg of their inspection, the four decided to take it round to nearby Faslane to inspect the Trident submarine berthed there. Driving — and waving — past a security guard and four other police inflatables, they were only recognised as they raced by the berths of Britain's most secure nuclear base.

One woman leapt out of the boat onto a two-metre-high boom, in order to run along it to the submarine, but two police boats rammed the boom from either side and knocked her into the water. All four were arrested and held over the weekend, before being charged with theft (of a police boat), malicious mischief (towards various fences) and breach of military by-laws. But, by midday on Monday the charges had been mysteriously put on hold. Ministry of "Defence" police quietly admitted that "heads would roll".

One of the four commented, "Nuclear weapons are immoral

and unlawful. It is right and proper that we as global citizens at last put the Ministry of Defence police boats to proper use — upholding the law!"

Scottish CND, Nukewatch and Faslane Peace Camp are planning another "citizens' inspection" for Friday 27 March. The eviction court case for the 17-year-old

camp is due to be heard at Dumbarton Sheriff Court on 1 April — campers are calling for as much support as possible to help hold the site.

Faslane Peace Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh G84 8NT, Scotland (+44 1436 820901; <http://ds.dial.pipex.com/cndscot/camp/>).

Citizens' Inspection Teams

Spurred on by US and British hypocrisy over Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, activists formed Citizens' Inspection Teams (CITs) and visited nuclear sites in Britain, New Zealand, the US and Belgium.

Washington State

A team of US and Canadian activists, led by Canadian Member of Parliament Libby Davies, wrote to Rear-Admiral William Center of the Bangor Submarine Base in Washington State, USA, and were invited over the phone to an inspection of one of the Trident submarines. However, in a second phone-call two hours later the Admiral withdrew his invitation, citing a contradictory decision by US Pacific Command in Pearl Harbour, Hawaii. On 26 February the team hired a private plane to fly over the facility (there are no extraordinary flight restrictions over Bangor), and identified more than two dozen concrete bunkers which are suspected of being used to store the 1600

warheads at the base.

Arizona

On 1 March six members of a CIT were arrested at the main gate of Davis Monthan Air Force Base in Tucson, Arizona. Base officials acknowledged that depleted uranium weapons were present at the base.

California and Belgium

On 5 March seven people — carrying UN flags reminiscent of UNSCOM personnel in Iraq — were arrested at the Livermore Nuclear Weapons Laboratory in California.

On 18 March activists — including Green Party members of the federal Belgian and regional Flemish parliaments — entered the Belgian NATO base at Kleine Brogel to search for suspected US B61 free-fall nuclear bombs. Inspections also took place at the US Embassy in Auckland, New Zealand, and at Aldermaston and Northwood in England.

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Corrections

In the March PN:

The Chiapas photo (p9) was by Ian Teh, not Tem;
The correct phone number for Gordana Netkovska (classified ads) is 0181 203 2200;
Philip Seed wrote *The Psychological Problems of Disarmament* not *The Philosophical ones* (obits, p18).

In the February edition:

Photo on p3 was by Gil Moti/Still Pictures;
and the photo on p6 by Alec Smart, not Caroline Austin.

Take Action!

Ramsey Clark, former US Attorney General and founder of the International Action Center in New York, states: "As long as the US military build-up in the Gulf continues, the real possibility exists that the US will create a new fabrication or provocation designed to justify a huge, crippling military bombardment of Iraq. Thus, anti-war forces are intensifying their mobilisation. They are demanding that the western military forces leave the Gulf. They are calling for an end to the economic sanctions that are a form of silent warfare killing more than 1.5 million Iraqis in the last seven years."

If US or UK attacks

Most of the activities below can be carried out whether or not the US decides to bomb Iraq:

- Vigil in your town or city centre at 6.00pm;
- Blockade and disrupt US and British military bases; occupy your nearest armed forces recruitment office;
- Vigil and take action at US and British embassies and consulates;
- Mobilise for mass demonstrations;
- Responsibly disarm weapons and communications systems involved in the war effort;
- Support conscientious objectors;
- Put up posters;
- Don't believe everything you read in the papers (even *Peace News*);
- Keep up pressure against the current economic sanctions.

Contacts:

- US: International Action Center (see adjacent news item);
- Britain: National Peace Council, 88 Islington High Street, London N1 8EG, Britain (tel +44 171 354 5200; fax 354 0033; email npc@gn.apc.org);
- International: WRI, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, Britain (tel +44 171 278 4040; fax 278 0444; email wri@gn.apc.org).

Iraq Crisis

Sanctions breakers arrested

Three Voices in the Wilderness delegates, returning from their most recent visit to Iraq (see March *PN*), were arrested by Customs officials — on both sides of the Atlantic.

Kathy Kelly, co-founder of the group, was detained upon arrival back at her home town of Chicago, interrogated for an hour and had her passport impounded. On 18 March, Milan Rai and Martin Thomas, of the London-based anti-militarist group ARROW, voluntarily reported to British customs for an interview, and were promptly arrested and held for four hours — on suspicion of breaching UN sanctions against Iraq (which were brought into British law in 1990), by attempting to export antibiotics on 10 February.

British customs had confiscated the antibiotics on the outward

journey — the first Milan and Martin knew about it was when they got to Jordan and found their bags totally empty.

Milan Rai told the customs officer, "We didn't apply for a licence because we were not prepared to accept any bureaucratic delay or moral veto over our attempt to help sick children in Iraq."

Kathy Kelly said: "Democracy is based on information. Those who travel to Iraq return able to voice the pleas of innocent people affected by a seven-year siege."

ARROW, 162 Holloway Road, London N7 8DQ, Britain (tel +44 171 607 2302; fax 700 2357).
Voices in the Wilderness, 1460 West Carmen Avenue, Chicago, IL 60640, USA (tel +1 312 784 8065; fax 784 8837; email kkelly@igc.apc.org).

Protests continue

Following Kofi Annan's successful diplomacy in Iraq, some peace groups ceased anti-war activity, but demonstrations still took place on 28 February across the United States. Over 5000 people took part in a mass rally in New York; there were large protests in San Francisco, Los Angeles and 27 other cities.

While the Pentagon's earlier plans for a bombing campaign against Iraq have been postponed, they have not been cancelled. The military build-up continues — by mid-March there were over 40,000 US troops, 400 war planes, several aircraft carriers, and the latest high-tech cruise missiles in the Gulf region. The United States government has stated that it reserves the "right" to "act alone" should it decide that Iraq has violated the inspection agreement.

The International Action Center hosted a national conference of anti-war and anti-sanctions activists in New York on 21 March in order to share strategies and coordinate further action. While thousands of activists are now committing themselves to campaigning against sanctions, everyone is aware that a bombing war could break out at any time with little or no warning.

Northwood vigil

Peace activists in Britain went ahead with a 24-hour peace camp outside Northwood Joint Rapid Deployment Force Headquarters north-west of London on 1 March. They leafleted the homes of military personnel with suggestions of ways in which members of the armed forces could avoid involvement in any Iraq crisis. There were no arrests, but campers noted increased security and razor wire since the 16 February blockade (see March *PN*). They also noted two police officers on bikes, one of whom admitted he hadn't ridden one for over 20 years (the publicity leaflet for the camp recommended that activists bring bikes).

International Action Center, 39 W 14th St, #206, New York, NY 10011, USA (+1 212 633 6646; fax 633 2889; email iacenter@iacenter.org; http://www.iacenter.org)

Campaign to Demilitarise Northwood, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DY, Britain.

Remembering Halabja



Trafalgar Square, London, 18 March: On the tenth anniversary of Sadaam Hussein's poison gas attack on the Kurdish village of Halabja, members of Britain's Kurdish Human Rights Project (KHRP) release 500 balloons, representing the 5000 villagers who died during the three-day bombing raid. High rates of cancer continue to add to deaths in the area. A recent UNSCOM report names manufacturers of chemical and biological warfare equipment sold to Iraq, but the British government refuses to make the information public. The KHRP has a new newsletter, *Newsline*: KHRP, Suite 319, The Linen Hall, 162-168 Regent St, London W1R 5TB, Britain (tel +44 171 287 2772; fax 734 4927; email khrp@khrp.demon.co.uk; http://www.khrp.org). PHOTO: UNIT OZTURK



On track for an end to nuclear power? Demonstrators put their bodies on the line.

PHOTO: MARCUS KOOPMAN

"Early" Castor shipment meets mass resistance

● Andreas Speck

In an attempt to minimise resistance, the date of "Tag X4" (Day X4) of this year's Castor nuclear waste consignment was "changed" at the last minute from 25 March to Thursday 19 March (thereby breaking an EU law which requires at least 48 hours' notice for local authorities along a transport route). Although this tactic posed many problems for activists — who initiated the "Castor alert" late on Wednesday — the main aim of the police failed. Up to 10,000 activists participated in demonstrations and blockades in the Ahaus area, and the train reached the storage site 5 hours later than scheduled.

Spent nuclear fuel rods left the nuclear power stations at Gundremmingen and Neckarwestheim on Thursday, by train and road respectively: 2500 police prevented actions on the tracks at Gundremmingen, but at Neckarwestheim 5000 police met resistance from 3000 activists who tried to blockade the road. Two activists tunnelled under the road and locked themselves in.

At Walheim both consignments were loaded onto a single train, which left for Ahaus at 3am on Friday. But only a few kilometres

down the line it was stopped by activists who had locked themselves to the tracks. It was stopped again 20km short of Ahaus by a sit-down blockade, and finally reached the storage site in Ahaus at 8.30pm on Friday.

Blockades at Ahaus itself began on Friday morning: police arrested 300 activists and took over seven hours to clear the tracks. Altogether some 700 activists were arrested, and were taken to former military barracks in cities some 30 to 50km from Ahaus. Most of those arrested spent the night in police custody in overcrowded rooms without proper access to food or water.

Success despite tricks

Although the police tactics saved some money and made organised actions very difficult, politically the anti-nuclear movement won a fourfold victory. Firstly, the movement was able to mobilise thousands of activists much earlier than planned and managed several blockades despite overwhelming police force (20,000 in the Ahaus area alone).

Secondly the fact that the state has to use tricks and lie to its own population in order to secure a nuclear waste transport showed that its nuclear policy is damaging democracy.

Thirdly the anti-nuclear movement was once again able to put the question of nuclear energy high on the political agenda — nearly all the media commented that this policy cannot go on for much longer.

Finally, Ahaus certainly wasn't an "easy option" compared to last year's journey to Gorleben — and the actions helped mobilise much support from the local people, many of whom participated in blockades.

Since 1995 the state has managed to force through four Castor convoys to Gorleben and Ahaus, but has totally failed to gain support for its policies. Every Castor has met growing resistance and civil disobedience, and has proved a big political success for the anti-nuclear movement. You can't get out of a dead-end by just driving on, and it is only a question of time before even the German state realises this. There might be a "Tag X5" or "X6", but can there be a "Tag X10" or "X20"?

The next Castor shipment — this time to Gorleben — is due in October.

Kein Atommüll in Ahaus.
BahnhofstraÙ 51, D-48683, Ahaus,
Germany (+49 2561 961791; <http://www.oneworldweb.de/castor/ahaus>).

Plough-shorts

Swedes sentenced

On 25 February, Swedish ploughshares activists Cecilia Redner and Marija Fischer were found guilty of attempted malicious damage following their attempted disarmament, in April 1997, of Bofors cannon destined for Indonesia (see PN 2414). Cecilia, a priest in the Church of Sweden, was sentenced to fines and three years of correctional education; Marija, a student, was sentenced to fines and a two-year suspended sentence.

Internal Exile

Recently released US ploughshares prisoners are facing effective internal exile. Under strict probation conditions, Michele Naar-Obed (who disarmed a nuclear attack submarine in August 1995) is not allowed to return to her home community, Jonah House in Baltimore, on the grounds that convicted felons live there (even the cats at Jonah House are convicted felons). Michele has had to move to Norfolk, Virginia, with her husband and young daughter. Similarly, Steve Baggary, of the Prince of Peace Plowshares (see PN 2412), was told only six days before his release that he could not return to his Catholic Worker community on the grounds that its environment was not "conducive to Baggary becoming a productive citizen".

Visits withdrawn

On 16 February Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Mairead Corrigan Maguire, from Northern Ireland, visited Prince of Peace plowshares prisoner Phil Berrigan at his Virginia prison. After the visit, Maguire refused to leave in protest at US threats to bomb Iraq. Prison authorities had her arrested, but, after a night in jail, trespass charges against her were dropped. However, Phil Berrigan was placed in solitary confinement for ten days and on 10 March was notified that his visitation rights were terminated for one year.

My Lai revisited

Lorna Richardson writes:
The US Army recently awarded retired US Army Captain Hugh Thompson the Soldier's Medal for his attempt to put a stop to one of the most shameful episodes in US military history, the My Lai Massacre. The Pentagon's official report on the massacre hailed Thompson, now a Louisiana veterans counsellor, as a hero, but it took nearly 30 years for the army — worried about the publicity — to drop plans for a private ceremony and go public with the award. Back in 1969, Thompson had refused another army medal, the Distinguished Flying Cross, in the belief that the army was trying to buy his silence.

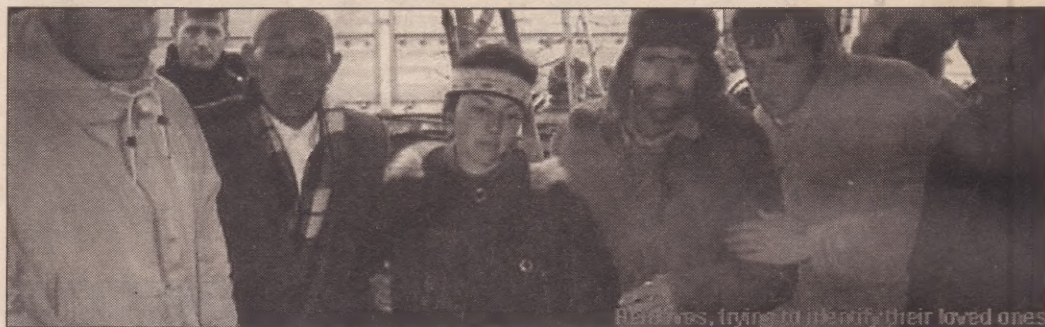
On 16 March 1968, Hugh Thompson was a warrant officer flying a helicopter in Vietnam, in the company of his crew chief and Lawrence Colburn, an 18-year-old gunner. As they flew over the tiny, quiet village of My Lai, Thompson saw US soldiers savagely beating and shooting Vietnamese civilians. They watched as soldiers executed women and children who had been pushed into an irrigation ditch, and other GIs burnt the village with hand grenades and Zippo lighters. There wasn't an enemy soldier in sight. Nearly 500 Vietnamese civilians were killed.

Thompson spotted a group of GIs chasing about ten Vietnamese fleeing to a makeshift bunker. He set down the helicopter in front of the advancing Americans and ordered Colburn to fire on any soldier who tried to harm the villagers. Thompson persuaded the civilians out of the bunker and an escort helicopter flew them to safety. As they were leaving, they spotted something moving in the ditch amongst the remains of the hundred villagers who had been murdered there — a three-year-old child.

Hugh Thompson intends to return to My Lai to commemorate the massacre's 30th anniversary. There he'll be reunited with the once bloody child he helped rescue.

Kosova

Protests in the face of massacres



Relatives of murdered Kosovars try to identify the bodies of the victims. PHOTO: ILAZ BYLYKBASHI/KOSOVA INFORMATION CENTRE

Howard Clark

The weekend after the March *Peace News* went to press, warning of the danger of war in Kosova, Serbian forces began to attack villages in the Drenica region in the centre of Kosova. By now, perhaps 100 Albanians have been killed, thousands have fled the region, and many are starving under siege.

The atrocities are reminiscent of Bosnia. Similar tactics — for instance, surrounding a village and shelling it, and then blocking the supply of humanitarian aid; similar mutilations — for instance, gouging out eyes; and, of course, some of the same criminals are involved: from Milosevic down to the troops of the SAJ regiment and Arakn's paramilitaries.

In some respects, the Albanian response also follows the same pattern as the Bosnian: louder calls than ever for Western intervention, preferably military intervention led by NATO.

Population is organised

However, Kosova is significantly different from Bosnia. Its population is much more homogeneous, over 90% Albanian. Moreover, this population is organised and has already endured eight years of discrimination, provocation, and intimidation, and has built up human rights monitoring networks capable of broadcasting abuses to the world. While the parallel school system (offering education to 265,000 children) has been suspended because of the heavy presence of Serbian security forces, and while many businesses are not opening, there have been a series of demonstrations throughout Kosova.

Mass demonstrations

In response to the initial massacre in Çirez, some 2000 women protested outside the US

Information Office in Prishtina on 1 March, and on 16 March 12,000 women, carrying loaves of bread, began an intended 50km march from Prishtina, heading for the besieged area of Drenica, but were turned back by police.

The students' demonstration, planned for Friday, 13 March, initially to demand the re-opening of the University buildings to Albanians, switched focus and was adopted by the Coordinating Committee of Political Parties. It was an impressive peaceful statement of resolve — between 50,000 and 100,000 people calling for an end to Serbian terror.

On 19 March peaceful protests, called for by the Prishtina students, were held across Kosova: thousands gathered in Prishtina's Mother Teresa square for a 35-minute peaceful protest of silence followed by noise. Serb snipers could be seen on top of buildings, but no police intervened. However, in the town of Peja, police opened fire on a peaceful crowd, killing one man and wounding a dozen.

Elections

Presidential and parliamentary elections — which Serbia does not recognise — will take place throughout Kosova on 22 March, except for the Drenica region itself, where they have had to be deferred. The Kosova Liberation Army (UÇK) has reportedly called for a boycott of any elections held before Kosova has been liberated. Even now, the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe) will not send observers to monitor the Kosovar elections — despite the risks faced by those taking part in them.

Whatever UÇK's perspective, the parallel elections could have been an enormous act of nonviolent resistance — by every unarmed person staffing a polling station and, of course, by the voters themselves.

Analysis

The most optimistic analysis we can make is that the Serbian iron fist is actually a sign of weakness — indicating Milosevic's isolation and perhaps preparing the way for talks which will offer substantial concessions to the Kosovars. For Kosovars, however, talks without an agreed international mediator are not acceptable.

The worst case analysis is that the attacks in Drenica are a prelude to a prolonged military action, driving more and more Kosovars into the arms of a Kosova Liberation Army that is incapable of protecting its own people. Once more, perhaps, Milosevic hopes that the Serbs will rally behind him in defence of the "province" they regard as "the cradle of Serbian civilisation" — even at the risk of war spreading to involve the Albanians of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Albania itself.

How long can they endure?

After my first visit to Kosova, I wrote about a Serbian police raid on Prekaz, when 26 men taken from their beds in the morning and forced to line up outside the police station in temperatures below freezing, listening to the police beating other villagers, and waiting for their turn to come (*Peace News*, February 1992). How much, I wondered, could Kosovars endure without being provoked to take up arms to defend themselves? Six years later, it's hardly surprising that Prekaz should have been identified as one of the strongholds of the incipient UÇK. Today, however, many of its houses have been shelled to ruination, women and children have fled, taking refuge wherever they can, and most of the men of its leading family — the Jashari family — are dead.

Western Shoshone resist expulsion and "subcritical" tests

Lorna Richardson

Western Shoshone campaigners against nuclear testing in Nevada have been accused by the US Bureau of Land Management (BLM) of "unauthorized use" and "trespass" — on their own land.

The Western Shoshone National Council, the Western Shoshone Dann family and the Western Shoshone Defense Project have conducted a long campaign in defence of their land against nuclear testing by the US and UK.

BLM harassment against the Western Shoshone goes back many years, but this particular phase began in October 1997, when the BLM ordered Western Shoshone cattle grazers to remove all unauthorised livestock. This February the BLM also issued a notice of trespass against the "unauthorized" occupation of a spiritual and cultural encampment established in 1991 on disputed lands in Crescent Valley. Ceremonies and gatherings are held at this encampment throughout the year.

The Western Shoshone National Council's response to the

BLM has been to point out, yet again, that the US has no title to Western Shoshone land: the 1863

the United States can present documentation on how the US actually acquired it.

Subcritical tests

At the same time, Western Shoshone people and other anti-nuclear activists are preparing for protest and nonviolent direct action against the next "subcritical" nuclear weapons test at the Nevada site — scheduled for 25 March.

"Shundahai" is a Newe (Western Shoshone) word meaning "Peace and Harmony with All Creation".

Shundahai Network,
5007 Elmhurst Lane,
Las Vegas, NV 89108-1304, USA (+1

702 647 3095; email

shundahai@radix.net;

http://www.shundahai.org).

Messages of protest about BLM's expulsion threats to:

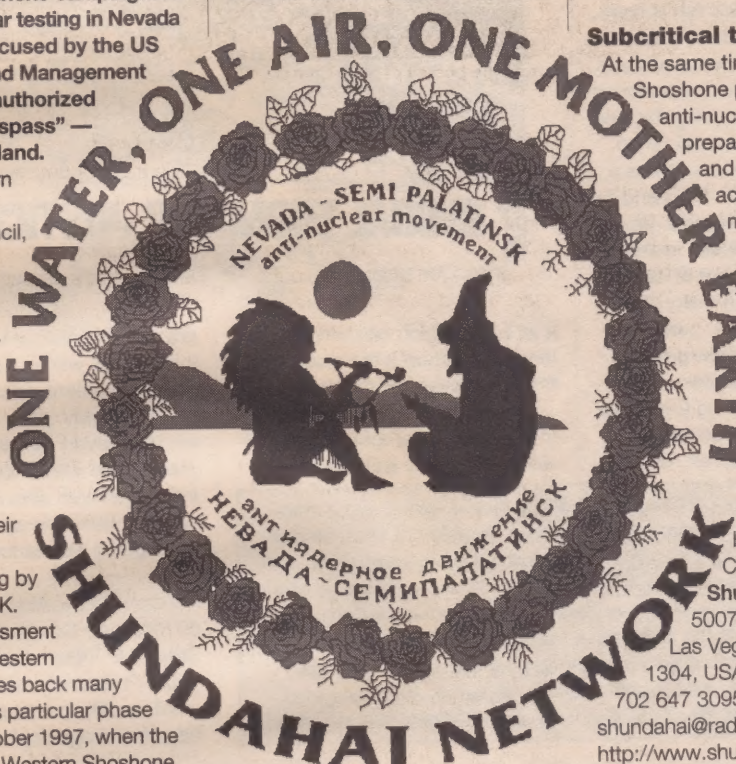
Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt (+1 202 208 7351; fax 208 6956);

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Nevada State BLM Director

Robert Abbey (+1 702 785 6500; fax 785 6601);

Elko BLM District Manager Helen Hankins (+1 702 753 0200; fax 753 0255).



Treaty of Ruby Valley, the 1787 Northwest Ordinance, the Territorial Act of Nevada, the 1847 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and international human rights laws all uphold Western Shoshone rights and responsibilities to their lands. The Western Shoshone cattle grazers say they will not pay the BLM for grazing animals on Western Shoshone territory until

Nuclear tests — the legacy

Recently released documents have outlined the extent of contamination from French nuclear tests in the Pacific. Four islands close to Muroroa and Fangataufa were knowingly put at severe risk by nuclear tests in the '60s.

Defence documents uncovered by a French publication show that the security service had recommended evacuating Reao, Tureia, Pukarua and Mangareva, before the first atmospheric test in July 1966. The authorities on Mangareva, then inhabited by 600 people, reported that within hours of the blast the defence minister was told there was "negligible" radioactivity. However, three days later, crops were showing high contamination levels.

After the second test — of a bomb 20 times more powerful than at Hiroshima — radiation levels in the rainfall were high. No safety measures were taken beyond assembling the population close to shelters.

Australia

At Maralinga, South Australia, the site of British atomic testing in the '50s and '60s is finally to be handed back to its original Aboriginal owners. The Tjarutja people were removed from their land on the edge of the Victoria Desert, and were contaminated along with British and Australian military personnel. \$70 million is to be spent on rehabilitating the site.

In a Nutshell

Humility in all things

We all make mistakes, although the existence of such things as the nation state, weapons of mass destruction, shopping malls and TVs, means that our understandable foibles sometimes get amplified to an alarming degree. This is one of the traditional, and more convincing, arguments for anarchism: aren't we human beings just fascinating — but (just to be on the safe side) let's avoid giving any of us collective power.

So, it is with heavy-hearted regret that we reprint (yet) an(other) apology that appeared in the 3 March issue of Seattle's indefatigable culinary weekly, *eat the state*:

CORRECTION

In an item in last week's *Short Takes* column we called for a nuclear strike on the city of Las Vegas, Nevada, based upon widespread reports of the FBI's arrest of white supremacists possessing biological weapons and planning terrorist attacks. Well, it turns out the ringleader, since released, was not a white supremacy activist but a research scientist whose investigation of possible cures for multiple sclerosis and AIDS included possession of animal-grade anthrax vaccine. We deeply regret having taken the word of US government officials and major news networks at face value, and offer our sincerest condolences to family and friends of the 1.3 million residents and visitors of Clark County, Nevada, that were horrifically incinerated as a result of Operation Desert Flambé. We're really, really sorry. It sounded so... plausible.

Geov Parrish

Let the above stand as a sobering warning to all of us: not even well-intentioned, conscientious, anarchist pacifist journalists can be trusted with nuclear weapons.

In Brief

MAI day MAI day

Contrary to some rumours, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) has not been sunk. The MAI is a nasty little document produced by the equally nasty Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Basically, multinational corporations feel they've been suffering peculiar forms of oppressions and want to be treated fairly. They want such self-evident freedoms as suing governments which get in the way of free trade by enacting unreasonable environmental regulations, protection of the local economy, allowing local control of inappropriate investment (eg a boycott of companies involved in Burma) and so forth.

The MAI was due to be signed on 27 April, but might well be postponed. Visit your local corner shop now, before it's too late. Alternatively — or even concurrently — arm yourself with information:

World Development Movement, 25 Beehive Place, London SW9 7QR, Britain (+44 171 737 6215; www.oneworld.org/wdm).

Body politic

London Greenpeace, fresh from its libellous battle with McDonald's — for distributing a leaflet entitled "What's wrong with McDonald's" — launched its latest information campaign on 21 March. Dave Morris, one of the "McLibel Two", handed out the first copy of their "What's wrong with the Body Shop?" leaflet outside the Body Shop in Oxford Street, London.

The leaflet is a critique of both the Body Shop and "green consumerism" in general, including criticisms of their "natural" labelling, exploitation of indigenous people, anti-union stance, and approach to animal testing. "Nobody can make the world a better place by shopping and in fact the world's problems will only be tackled by curbing consumerism."

London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX, Britain (tel & fax +44 171 713 1269; email lgp@envirolink.org; <http://www.mcspotlight.org>).

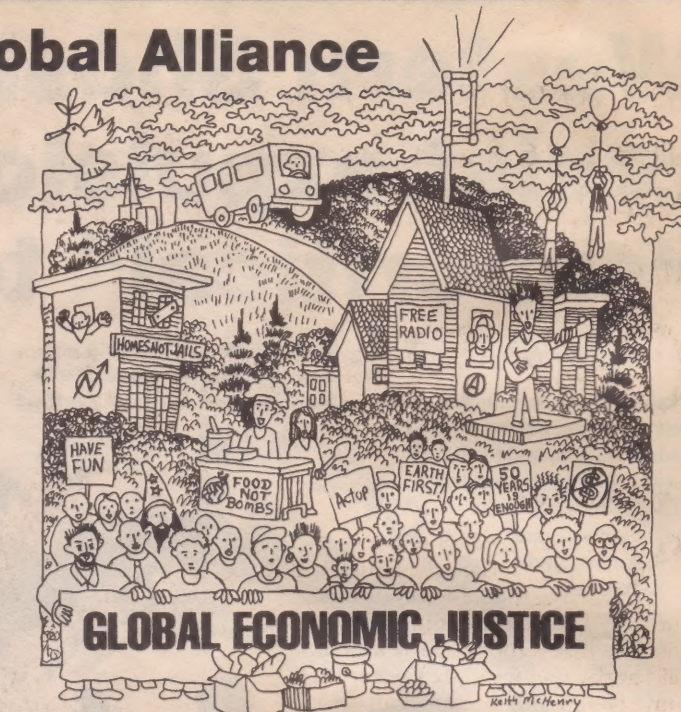
Globalisation

People's Global Alliance

In February, 300 activists from around the globe gathered in Geneva to discuss resistance to economic globalisation, and in particular to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), which "celebrates" its 50th anniversary on 18 May.

The struggles represented at the People's Global Alliance (PGA) Conference were truly diverse: Ukrainian anarchists, Argentinian teachers, Indian small fish farmers, Narmada dam resisters, Maori activists, Canadian postal workers, and Genevan squatters, who found accommodation for delegates and helped organise the conference.

Coming from London it was a surprise how real the WTO and its ilk were for most delegates. Where there is silence on these issues in the UK, there's a shout of radical mass mobilisation in many parts of the globe. Workers, peasant farmers and indigenous peoples, who see the WTO as the vehicle of corporations wishing to extend their already vast reach, stand against the transnationals, who see



GRAPHIC: FOOD NOT BOMBS

it as a tool which can break resistance and smooth the ground for the free movement of capital.

The task of the conference was to find a way of amplifying our individual struggles, a strategy for

[The WTO] will have both legislative and judicial powers and a mandate to eliminate all barriers to international investment and competition. Under the WTO, a group of unelected trade representatives will act as a global parliament with the power to override economic and social policy decisions of nation-states and democratic legislatures around the world. At the same time, the world's major transnational corporations will have a powerful role to play in the WTO through direct linkages with trade representatives of participating countries — *The Case Against the Global Economy*, eds E Goldsmith and J Mander

practical counter-globalisation. The initial focus will be a worldwide series of actions against the WTO on 18–20 May. After that the PGA will meet every two years to promote active resistance to the WTO. Interlinked web sites and a bulletin will communicate and coordinate an ongoing resistance.

People's Global Alliance, c/o KMP, 69 Maayusin Corner, Malabang Street, UP Village, Quezon City 1101, Philippines (+63 2 435 3564; email kmp@info.com.ph; <http://www.agp.org/>).

Genetic engineering

SOS — Save Organic Standards

While many people are choosing to turn to organic food in what seems the only sure way of avoiding genetically manipulated (GM) food, organic food as we know it could soon become a thing of the past, thanks to biotechnology companies like Monsanto and Novartis.

Genetically manipulated rapeseed has already been shown to have cross-pollinated with natural rapeseed. If commercial GM crops are given the go ahead it will only be a matter of time before they start to "contaminate" organic crops. In Germany organic farmers are already suing — they have been losing customers because of GM crops being grown nearby.

Other GM crops have been manipulated to produce *Bacillus thuringiensis* toxin, used as a natural pesticide in organic agriculture. If used in GM crops on the

scale intended it will surely lead to insects rapidly becoming resistant to the toxin and it will no longer be an option for organic growers.

Meanwhile if the US Department of Agriculture's (USDA) new organic standards proposals get the go-ahead, the biotech bullies will soon be officially allowed to introduce GM crops into organic agriculture. The proposals have caused a huge upsurge of activity in the USA, where, until now, objections to GM crops had been few. Now consumers, farmers, producers and natural food retailers are joining together and thousands of protest letters have been received. Thanks to such bodies as the World Trade Organisation, the proposals will eventually affect organic farmers and consumers worldwide.

Campaigners in the US have called for activists to picket and

protest at US embassies around the world on 30 April (closing day for comments on the proposals).

At least six GM test-sites in Britain have been destroyed by locals and anti-genetic engineering activists (see July 1997 *PN*). Ireland had one site — also destroyed last year by activists.

Letters of objection to the USDA proposals: Eileen S Stommes, Deputy Administrator USDA-AMS-TM-NOP, Room 4007-SoAg Stop 0275, PO Box 96456, Washington, DC 20090-6456, USA or respond via the USDA web site (<http://www.ams.usda.gov/nop>). For more info contact: **Genetic Engineering Network**, PO Box 9656, London, N4 4JY, Britain (+44 181 374 9516; email genetics@gn.apc.org; <http://www.envirolink.org/orgs/shag/genetix.html>).

In November, over 80 people met in London for the first "Car-free Life Conference". One of the organisers and participants, *Nikolaus Huhn*, reflects on the connections between pacifism and cars.

Car Resisters' International

● Nikolaus Huhn

"Car-free in town and countryside", "Car-free family", "I'd like to live without a car, but..." — "The political impact of carlessness" — just some of the workshops held at the Car-free Life Conference. Some people might expect an article like this to appear in a green magazine, but just how do such themes relate to pacifism and pacifists? What follows is my own viewpoint — it's not meant to be a representation of the views of the conference.

I'd suggest that there's a clear point of contact between car-freedom and peace-making: *the integrity of our word*. Assuming that we are going to continue speaking out against wars fuelled by competition for limited energy sources ("No blood for oil!"), what do we expect our pacifist word to weigh as long as we ourselves keep on relying to such a large extent on the consumption of such resources?

Voting for oil

If we insist on these levels of energy consumption, isn't it high time that we found ways of expressing our gratitude to the United States, NATO and all the honourable oil companies? After all, they are doing a pretty good job — providing us with petrol at all times of the day and night, by all possible means... To put it bluntly: every petrol station can be seen as a polling station in a permanent, ongoing plebiscite. And, as in a dictatorship, the choice is not to be made on the ballot paper, but to be made by either visiting or not visiting the polling booth. Every time we put petrol in our cars we send out a cheerful appeal to the global petrol players, and their accompanying military forces: "Yeah, just do it!"

It's like the dog which eats from its owner's plate and then feels heroic about pissing on the owner's couch. It doesn't seem a great way forward to me.

Throwing the idol at the emperor's feet

Of course, the private car is not the only problem in our world, but it is a very obvious and significant one. And, unlike many big political issues, the private car question is one which almost every adult in



"As strong a symbol as Gandhi's spinning wheel..."

PHOTO: JULIA GUEST

the "advanced" world can do something about. And, of course, the poor car cannot be blamed for everything: the vegetable gardener who uses a car occasionally and sparingly leaves a much lighter "footprint" than the car-resister who occasionally travels by plane or who lives mainly on food from faraway countries. But there are two very strong arguments for at least not owning a car:

- It makes the option of using public transport much more affordable (cars cost so much to own);
- It's a strong public sign of your pacifist commitment. Doesn't dissidence begin with throwing the idol at the emperor's feet and being prepared to pay a reasonable price for your act?

Hostages to fossil fuels

I don't intend to judge anyone — I'm just trying to point out that pacifism seems to be a fairly ambitious task. Freezing or not freezing in winter is, even more than mobility, a very basic, archaic, ideals- and ideology-consuming matter. I am afraid that with our dependence on fossil fuels we might one day become our own hostages. Once confronted with the alternative of sitting in a cold house next winter or accepting — under faint protest — that the competent armed forces are setting out to secure *our* vital interests in the Gulf, or

wherever, will our pacifist word find its way through our chattering teeth?

Use the time available

So, let's use the time available (fossil fuels are finite) to make the small but serious steps necessary in order to extricate ourselves from this ever-tightening knot of fossil-fuel-dependence: heating with wood (fairly sophisticated wood-burners are available); making use of solar or wind power where possible; avoiding air-travel; using public transport; eating local food; and other such eco-common sense measures.

A folding bicycle, of which there are quite a few sophisticated models available, if combined with public transport, can quite easily and efficiently substitute for a car. Moreover, to me such a bike is as strong a symbol as Gandhi's spinning wheel.

But wouldn't all this mean renunciation and a voluntary regression in our lifestyle? Yes, and it seems that it will be hard to regain the integrity of our pacifist word at a much cheaper price. I am afraid that the situation isn't much more complicated than this.

The next UK Carfree Life event is 16–17 May on the Isle of Wight (contact +44 1963 351649); a similar German event is planned in Bonn for 6 June (contact +49 36 428 41091).

Angie Zelter, one of the core group members of Trident Ploughshares 2000, responds to Michael Randle's article, "Symbolic or direct disarmament?", in the last issue.

People's disarmament

● Angie Zelter

What is the symbolism of large numbers of people approaching Faslane Trident submarine base with hammers and wire cutters?

Quite simply a symbol of Do-It-Yourself disarmament by citizens fed up with the British Government's unwillingness to act upon its promises to ban weapons of mass destruction. The symbol is of practical determination and is a powerful rejection of the State's "defence" policies.

We will have with us simple household tools and copies of our pledges. The pledges will reveal that the Government has not fulfilled its promise under the Non-Proliferation Treaty to engage in global nuclear disarmament, and will declare our intention to uphold the law and beging dismantling the base. The authorities or press may wish to make our actions appear dangerous or violent, but anything can be distorted. We will do our best to convey our peaceful and accountable intentions to disarm an evil and outlawed system of mass destruction.

The risk of being shot is probably greater on the small-scale surprise actions rather than the fully open actions and this is borne in mind during our preparations. But we have to be aware at all times of the risk of being shot and of the various techniques of making this less likely. The many thousands of women who went into Greenham Common in the eighties continually faced this risk and no one was shot. This risk is rightly worrying, but people should not be disempowered. Rather we need to acknowledge the risk and plan accordingly (just as we do when we cross the road).

Defining Success

Michael seems to think it is important for the organisers of TP2000 to decide whether our main aim is direct disarmament or symbolic disarmament and suggests that it needs to be mainly symbolic in order to be "successful" by persuading more people to join in. However, they are both primary aims and we try to ensure they are in balance with each other. Although we are encouraging surprise disarmament actions after the fully open August action because these are most

likely to succeed in terms of actual physical practical disarmament, nevertheless activists still have to act within the constraints of nonviolence and accountability. Efficiency is not more important than peaceful accountability. Michael expressed this concern well. Every disarmament action, however "effective" must be totally nonviolent and able to be communicated and justifiable to the general public. Within the framework of clear non-negotiable nonviolent and safety ground-rules, common training workshops for each affinity group and the two pledges that everyone has to sign, each affinity group is nonetheless autonomous and is responsible for planning its own particular disarmament attempts. Hence there will inevitably be a full range of ploughshares actions from the mainly symbolic to the seriously practical, with each group deciding its particular balance.

Symbolic and practical

Thus TP2000 hopes to be effective on both levels — symbolic and practical. I hope to see creative groups using powerful symbols that speak directly to the public's imagination and convince them of the need for citizen action to persuade our recalcitrant politicians to disarm. I also hope that there will be some groups that will do maximum disarmament of the Trident submarines themselves — and of the communication and back-up facilities that are needed to keep Trident operational. I want to see Trident unable to operate, even if only for a few hours. However, even if a Trident submarine were to be so effectively disabled such that it needed to be completely rebuilt, the state could still rebuild it. This fact must be faced without disempowering us from action. It does not deny the usefulness of our disarmament act and the fact that that particular submarine cannot carry out its criminal nuclear threats until we have been removed and it has been repaired. But it does remind us that ultimately for any disarmament work to be completed, and to be sustained, the vast majority of the public and the state machinery have to back disarmament. This overall context is stressed in the *Handbook*:

Nonviolent intervention is about bringing an



inherently violent or unjust situation to wide attention and changing it. We are not trying to defeat an enemy in a situation of winners and losers; we are instead seeking to transform the situation so that everybody wins.

Crime prevention

The prevention of gross abuses of international humanitarian law such as the threat and use of nuclear weapons is complex and involves the actions of very many people over a long time span. Each time one of the nuclear powers threatens to use its nuclear weapons — either in the back corridors of the UN, or in its "secret" dispatches or negotiations, or by scarcely veiled threats like we have seen in the last few months over the Iraq crisis; each time a Trident submarine goes out on patrol, or a new warhead is ordered and deployed; each of these is a separate affront to our morality and humanity and one which adds to the overall global nuclear crime that TP2000 and thousands of other global citizens' groups are trying to stop.

As the structure of TP2000 is not hierarchical there will be no simple overall success or failure. There may well be individual successes and failures at specific times depending on the eventual actions of each group, but the "centre of gravity" will keep shifting over the duration of the

Having cut the perimeter fence, activists occupy the EUCOM military command centre in Stuttgart, Germany. Trident Ploughshares 2000 encourages participating affinity groups to decide for themselves what constitutes disarmament — from musical blockades to substantial hammering.

PHOTO: EUCOMMUNITY

from volunteering because of this risk level and it is right that they should think about the consequences of their actions and be deterred now rather than later on when it may be too late to get out of the prison cell. But I am sure there remain hundreds who would be willing to take this risk in order to provide the final impetus for ridding Britain of nuclear weapons.

My guess, like Michael's, is that given the potential political controversy that might follow the imprisonment of hundreds of activists, it is much more likely that minimal sentences will be imposed on most people and high sentences on only those who actually manage to do substantial disarmament. But the integrity and potency of TP2000 relies upon *all* participants being prepared to risk the maximum penalty. There have already been a hundred volunteers from five different countries, from young students to old age pensioners, and many more are thinking about joining in.

Now is the time

We are at a point in history when we need hundreds of thousands of people actively protesting against nuclear weapons once more. The Cold War is over and we need to get on with the increasingly urgent real security threats that face the whole global community and which the nuclear age prevented us from tackling in any rational and effective manner. Nuclear weapons are obsolete and distort the healthy growth of the co-operative and humane structures we need in order to deal with global economic and social injustice — and with the ensuing environmental destruction that is destroying the planet's ecological life support systems. Now is the time for the actual abolition of nuclear weapons and where better to start but here in Britain, now, with you.

People wishing to take part in, or support, Trident Ploughshares 2000 should write to: TP2000, 42-46 Bethel Street, Norwich, Norfolk NR2 1NR, Britain (+44 1603 611953; fax 666879; email reforest@gn.apc.org). Any cheques should be payable to "Trident Ploughshares 2000" (enclose at least £3.50 if you want a copy of the *Tri-denting It Handbook*).

project. As one group prays outside the main entrance to Faslane and blocks the entry of the military, another may be removing an essential communication pylon; as one group is found guilty at their court hearing and are sentenced to several years in prison, another group may face a small fine or even win their court case. What is failure and what is success and how and when do you measure it?

Some say we have already been successful before even the first hammer has fallen on Trident, in that we have put the issue of Trident on the agenda of several organisations which have had to do some hard soul-searching before agreeing to support TP2000. Maybe it is best if we leave each individual and group to define success or failure in their own terms. What is important is that everyone does the best they can, that they are not sitting at home worrying about nuclear weapons and getting depressed but are actively engaged in disarmament work — that they are part of the solution not part of the problem.

Demoralisation

Michael says that if some activists end up serving very long prison sentences this could have a deeply demoralising effect on the whole anti-nuclear movement. As far as I can see the peace movement (in the UK at least) is already demoralised

and could hardly become more so. Anything that attempts to energise the movement has to be a good thing — at least we will have tried. And in any case I believe that most people will feel uplifted by witnessing sincere and dedicated people peacefully trying to disarm a weapon of mass destruction, whether they end up in prison for a long time or not. We forget that to have an effect there has to be some sacrifice or cost involved.

The price of peace

One of the founders of the ploughshares movement, Father Daniel Berrigan, wrote:

We have assumed the name of peacemakers, but we have been, by and large, unwilling to pay any significant price. And because we want peace with half a heart and half a life and will, war making, of course, continues, because the waging of war, by its nature, is total — but the waging of peace, by our own cowardice is partial ... There is no peace, because there are no peacemakers. There are no makers of peace because the making of peace is at least as costly as the making of war — at least as exigent, at least as disruptive, at least as liable to bring disgrace and prison and death in its wake.

Trident Ploughshares activists know that they are risking long prison sentences. People have already been deterred

AJ Muste (1885–1967) was one of the US pacifist movement's foremost voices.

Martin Luther King said that, "unequivocally, the emphasis on nonviolent direct action in the civil rights movement is due more to AJ than anyone else in the country".

This classic essay — first published in 1928 — remains a vivid call for a revolutionary nonviolence, which resists the violence of injustice as well as the violence of war.

Pacifism and Class War

It is expected perhaps that an article dealing with pacifism in relation to class war should consist of an exhortation to labour organisations and radicals to eschew violent methods in the pursuit of their ends, together with an exposition of the use of pacifist methods in labour disputes and social revolutions. If there is such an expectation, this article will be in large measure disappointing. Chiefly, because in my opinion much more time must be spent than has yet been given to clearing away some exceedingly mischievous misconceptions before we can think fruitfully about creating nonviolent methods of social change; and because there are very, very few individuals in the world, including the pacifist groups and churches, who are in a moral position to preach non-resistance to the labour or radical movement.

Erroneous assumptions

Practically all our thinking about pacifism in connection with class war starts out at the wrong point. The question raised is how the oppressed, in struggling for freedom and the good life, may be dissuaded from employing "the revolutionary method of violence" and won over to "the peaceful process of evolution". Two erroneous assumptions are concealed in the question put that way. The first is that the oppressed, the radicals, are the ones who are creating the disturbance. Society may permit an utterly impossible situation to develop in an industry like coal, but the workers who finally in desperation put down tools and fold their arms, they are "the strikers", the cause of the breach of the peace. We need to get our thinking focussed, to see selfish employers or a

negligent society — not striking workers — as the cause of disturbance in the social order.

Oppression maintained by violence

A second assumption underlying much of our thinking is that the violence is solely or chiefly committed by the rebels against oppression, and that this violence constitutes the heart of our problem. However, the basic fact is that the economic, social, political order in which we live was built up largely by violence, and is now being extended by violence, and is maintained by violence. A slight knowledge of history, a glimpse at the armies and navies of the Most Christian Powers, at our police and constabulary, at the militaristic fashion in which practically every attempt of workers to organise is greeted, in Nicaragua or

"The foremost task of the pacifist in connection with class war is to denounce the violence on which the present system is based, and all the evil — material and spiritual — this entails for the masses of people throughout the world."

China, will suffice to make the point clear to an unbiased mind.

The foremost task, therefore, of the pacifist in connection with class war is to denounce the violence on which the present system is based, and all the evil — material and spiritual — this entails for the masses of people throughout the world; and to exhort all rulers in social, political, industrial life, all who occupy places of privilege,



all who are the beneficiaries of the present state of things, to relinquish every attempt to hold on to wealth, position and power by force, to give up the instruments of violence on which they annually spend billions of wealth produced by the sweat and anguish of toilers. So long as we are not dealing honestly and adequately with this ninety percent of our problem, there is something ludicrous, and perhaps hypocritical, about our concern over the ten percent of violence employed by the rebels against oppression. Can we win the rulers of the earth to peaceful methods?

Reaping the whirlwind

The psychological basis for the use of nonviolent methods is the simple rule that like produces like, kindness provokes kindness, as surely as injustice produces resentment and evil. It is sometimes forgotten, by those whose pacifism is a spurious, namby-pamby thing, that if one Biblical statement of this rule is "Do good to them that hate you" (an exhortation presumably intended for the capitalist as well as the labourer), another statement of the same rule is, "They that sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind." You get from the Universe



Mead Missile Base, near Omaha, Nebraska, July 1959: AJ Muste (wearing hat) informs a soldier of his intent to commit civil disobedience. The action was part of a summer-long campaign against new missile delivery systems which heightened the threat of nuclear war.

what you give, with interest! What if people build a system on violence and injustice, on not doing good to those who hate them nor even to those who meekly obey and toil for them? And persist in this course through centuries of Christian history? And if, then, the oppressed raise the chant:

*Ye who sowed the wind of sorrow,
Now the whirlwind you must dare,
As ye face upon the morrow,
The advancing Proletaire!*

In such a day, the pacifist is presumably not absolved from preaching to the rebels that they also shall reap what they sow; but assuredly not in such a wise as to leave the oppressors safely entrenched in their position, nor at the cost of preaching to them in all sternness that "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether".

As we are stayed from preaching nonviolence to the underdog, unless and until we have dealt adequately with the dog who is chewing that underdog up, so also are all those who would support a country in war against another country stayed from preaching nonviolence in principle to labour or to radical movements.

We are not, to pursue the matter a little further, in a moral position to advocate nonviolent methods to labour while we continue to be beneficiaries of the existing order. Those who profit by violence, though it be indirectly, unwillingly and only in a small measure, will always be

"In a world built on violence, one must be a revolutionary before one can be a pacifist; in such a world a non-revolutionary pacifist is a contradiction in terms."
HUTCHINGS V.

under suspicion, and rightly so, of seeking to protect their profits, of being selfishly motivated, if they address pious exhortations to those who suffer by that violence.

Revolutionary pacifism

Nor can anyone really with good conscience advocate abstention from violence to the masses of labour in revolt, unless she or he is identified in spirit with labour and

helping it with all her or his might to achieve its rights and realise its ideals. In a world built on violence, one must be a revolutionary before one can be a pacifist; in such a world a non-revolutionary pacifist is a contradiction in terms, a monstrosity. During the war, no absolute pacifist in America would have felt justified in exhorting Germany to lay down its arms while saying and doing nothing about America's belligerent activities. We should have recognised instantly the moral absurdity, the implied hypocrisy of such a position. Our duty was to win our own "side" to a "more excellent way". It is a sign of ignorance and lack of realism in our pacifist groups and churches that so many fail to recognise clearly and instantly the same point with regard to the practice of pacifism in social and labour struggles.

Things being as they are, it is fairly certain that if a group of workers goes on strike for better conditions, other methods having failed, they will commit some acts of violence and coercion; some evil passions will be aroused in their breasts. Shall the pacifist who has identified her or himself with labour's cause therefore seek to dissuade the workers from going on strike? (I am of course confining myself here to a question of principle, leaving out of account questions of the expediency of a strike in a given conditions.) My own answer is an emphatic negative, because I am convinced that in these cases the alternative of submission is by far the greater evil.

Actually, human beings acquiesce too easily in evil conditions; they rebel far too little and too seldom. There is nothing noble about acquiescence in a cramped

continued on page 15

When the killing and brutality have largely come to an end, how do you go about healing both individuals and society? *Roberta Bacic*, a former member of Chile's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, reflects.

Justice after peace?

● Roberta Bacic

In October 97, INFOKREIS — a network of Swiss organisations which have worked with people from former-Yugoslavia — organised a conference entitled "Building Peace from the Roots". Participants came from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Chile, Switzerland and South Africa. The event was hosted by Kinderdorff Pestalozzi in Saint Gallen, Switzerland: in the midst of this peaceful and attractive scenery, we shared the experiences we had gone through following war, political repression and apartheid.

At the end of the conference we visited Tordici, a bombed, almost completely destroyed and abandoned town near Osijek, Croatia. ARK, the Croatian Anti-War Campaign, had organised the visit with the intention of exploring a nearby mass grave of victims of the war. Despite common knowledge of the grave, so far no legal action has been taken.

Visiting the mass grave was not possible when we were there, but we hope it might be in the near future: seeing the corpses would provide the families with the relief of knowing where their loved ones are. It would also allow them to bury their relatives and start the normal mourning process. There is no chance for them to

think in terms of peace and justice until that has happened.

Chilean experience

In Chile we did several such excavations over the years, and the whole experience was very important. Collecting evidence about mass graves meant contact with relatives of the victims, with witnesses, with neighbours and, in a few cases, even with alleged perpetrators. At the site, a forensic expert could say — after a short check up — if there was or had been something there. If so, human rights organisations or associations of victims took legal action to allow a formal excavation. Sometimes we had positive results, more often we did not, but this experience of teamwork allowed us to feel like active participants in our history. From a psychological point of view, the mourning process has to be materialised if we want to keep mentally healthy — both as individuals and as a society. It is also a tribute to the absent ones and a way to express socially that what we say is undeniably true, not a mere story.

Justice after Peace

The discussion at the seminar and the actual experiences in Tordici have inspired us to organise a plenary for the WRI Triennial in September, in Poreč, Croatia. We are calling it "Justice after Peace",



Biramo
CHOOSING
Mir
PEACE
Zajedno
TOGETHER

War Resisters' International
22nd Triennial Conference
19-24 September 1998
Poreč, Croatia

and intend to discuss the concept and practice of truth, justice and impunity in different parts of the world where there has been war, dictatorship or apartheid.

These are just some of the questions we have come up with:

What can be done to look behind the masks used by those in power to make us think they care about what is going wrong? Grassroots groups need to highlight injustice by whatever means are available — at a state level (if listened to), through the media, or even by public demonstrations.

In a culture dominated by lies, what possibilities are there for unveiling the system of lies? In our work we should always point out the lies, and stress the truth, but we shouldn't use up too much energy contradicting official pronouncements. Facts speak for themselves. We must help one another maintain confidence in a fair and just society and not fall into the argument that nothing can be done. As long as we are alive we can always do something to improve what is here.

Have we paid attention to changes in language: dialogue based on euphemisms or the refusal to use words which imply conflict? Chile is considered to be a country which has improved its economic standards — the government says that poverty will be overcome by present economic policies. This is untrue: the elimination of poverty requires positive action and legal frameworks. To avoid conflict with the military, the Chilean government spoke of "justice as far as it is possible". But either there is, or there is not, justice — there is no intermediate level. So that one sector of Chilean society will feel we are improving politically, and the other won't think we are going too fast, the government calls the process "transition to democracy". If that is what it is, how come Pinochet still has so much power that he appears on the news all over the world? A democratic system could not allow a person who has been responsible for disappearances and murders to become a Senator (see opposite page).

How can we help re-build people's memory, and rescue their experiences from being described by historians merely as a series of events? Many NGOs and grassroots organisations have been able to compile and publish stories of experiences which help make history



The war-ravaged town of Tordici, Croatia, November 1997.

PHOTO: KENNETH JENSEN

vital and human. When writing its report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission considered official documentation, reports from NGOs, and interviewed people who lived through the events.

Are we aware that oppressors continue being oppressors by the fact that they have not been punished? To see Pinochet in the newspaper crying the day he left the army makes us feel weak and oppressed — because he still has enormous power and we have not been able to remedy the situation.

How can we deal with disappointment regarding ideologies and political structures?

Have we tried to use art as a way to understand our history? Songs, stories, music, poems, novels — these are not just statements, but real forms of expression. An image can very often say much more than words.

Are we aware that after we have realised our defeat, there's a huge challenge for creativity? It is essential to expose the foundations of the oppressors' dreams and be clear that we cannot be naive in our means of struggle. We have to analyse the actual basis of power.

How can we spread the idea that those who dream and create see the future of the world? Let us make this our common task.

Roberta Bacic is the new WRI staff member in London.

Tears are shed as dictator Pinochet becomes senator for life

Roberta Bacic

According to reports on 13 March in the Chilean newspaper *La Tercera*, 580 people were detained around the country in protests against former dictator Augusto Pinochet becoming a Senator for life after leaving the army. The move effectively guarantees Pinochet immunity from prosecution for crimes committed under the dictatorship.

Among the protestors, Gladys Marin, president of the legal Communist Party and wife of a disappeared detainee, was beaten on the head and had to be taken to hospital.

Pinochet had always protested against politicians and parliament: in 1973 he headed the brutal coup which closed down the democratically elected parliament led by Salvador Allende. During the dictatorship a law was passed enabling him to take up the position of senator for life as soon as he stepped down as Commander in Chief of the military.

The British *Independent* newspaper ran a story headed "Chile's old dictator weeps on leaving the army", with a big colour photo showing him in uniform and drying his tears with a handkerchief. How many others — victims of the dictatorship, relatives of the disappeared — also wept at the news?

Spanish courts are at present trying Pinochet for assassinations and disappearances of Spanish people in Chile. On 16 March, Spanish judge Juan Garcés presented a warrant for his prosecution and arrest, after having taken statements from relatives of the victims, witnesses and people who had kept files on these crimes.

A century of nonviolence

Class war: continued from page 13

life or mere submission to superior force. There is as vast a spiritual difference between such submission of the masses and the glad acceptance of pain by the saint, as there is between the sodden poverty of the urban or rural slum and the voluntary poverty of St Francis "that walks with God upon the Umbrian hills". No one who has ever inwardly experienced the spiritual exaltation and the intense sisterhood and brotherhood created by a strike, on the one hand, and the sudden submission of hopeless poverty or the dull contentment or "respectability" of those who are too fat and lazy to struggle for freedom, on the other hand, will hesitate for a moment to choose the former, though it involves a measure of violence.

Inspiring examples

Here it may well be well to point out that, as a matter of fact, the amount of violence on the part of workers on strike is usually grossly exaggerated; and that, on the other hand, practically every great strike furnishes inspiring examples of non-resistance under cruel provocation and victory by "soul force" alone — victory through patient endurance of evil and sacrifice, even unto death, for spiritual ends. I have witnessed these things repeatedly. More than once, I have

exhorted masses of strikers to fold their arms, not to strike back, to smile at those who beat them and trample them under their horses' feet, and the strikers' response has been instantaneous, unreserved, exalted. I have also appealed to police heads to call

"The amount of violence on the part of workers on strike is usually grossly exaggerated; on the other hand, practically every great strike furnishes inspiring examples of non-resistance under cruel provocation and victory by 'soul force' alone — victory through patient endurance of evil and sacrifice, even unto death, for spiritual ends. I have witnessed these things repeatedly."

off violence-provoking extra forces and to employers to discharge labour spies, and have been laughed at for my pains.

All this does not mean that the labour movement is not confronted with a serious problem as to the means to which it will resort to advance its aims. Many times

employers, on the one hand, and workers, on the other hand, are approached by the most crude and self-defeating psychological methods. Money is spent on gangsters, for example, that might well net a thousand fold better return if devoted to the education of workers and of the public. Violence begets violence by whomever it is being used. War is a dirty business and entails the use of degrading means, whoever wages it.

Those who can bring themselves to renounce wealth, position and power accruing from a social system based on violence and putting a premium on acquisitiveness, and to identify themselves in some real fashion with the struggle of the masses toward the light, may help in a measure — more, doubtlessly, by life than by words — to devise a more excellent way, a technique of social progress less crude, brutal, costly and slow than humankind has yet evolved.

The above is an edited version of the original essay. Terminology now considered sexist has been changed. Copies of the full essay are available from: "Drava Papers", 1 Hertford Rd, London N2, England (enclose £1 or equivalent). For more information about the life and works of AJ Muste: AJ Muste Memorial Institute, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012, USA (+1 212 533 4335; fax 228 6193).

Book reviews

Question of conscience

Felicity Goodall, **A Question of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in the Two World Wars** (Sutton, 1997, 212 pp, ISBN 0 7509 0740 1, £18.99). Reviewed by ANDREW RIGBY.

Felicity Goodall works as a freelance producer, writer and researcher for British radio and television. Therefore, as someone who fancies himself as something of a peace movement historian, I approached this study of British COs of the two world wars with a sense of superiority and a predisposition to dismiss it as the work of a well-meaning amateur. There have been a number of books published on this topic, so what could she add to our understanding?

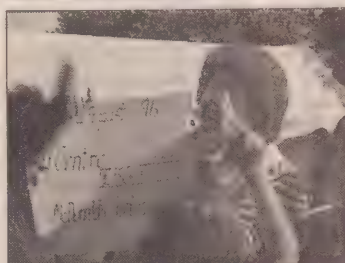
I was wrong — when am I ever right? — I found the book fascinating, albeit frustrating. The book bears the imprint of the radio journalist's craft. She allows the COs to tell their story in their own words, intruding only with introductory sentences and link-ups. Hence, those who are looking for a sociological analysis of the nature and essence of conscientious objection should look elsewhere. But if you want to enter the world of the objectors, share their experiences, hear their voices — then this is the book for you.

Starting with COs of the First World War, the author takes us through the inter-war years to the Second World War, devoting a chapter to each of the different alternatives to combat duty adopted by resisters — the Non-Combatant Corps, ambulance and medical relief service, bomb disposal work, offering one's services as a medical "guinea-pig", working on the land and down the mines, social welfare work. There are also chapters on the experience of women during the wars — as COs themselves or as mothers and partners of objectors. The text is enriched by over 50 illustrations, most of them snapshots from family albums. It all adds up to a very rich and human document.

The frustration for me is the complete lack of source referencing. Where did the author obtain her interview material? We are not told. Some of the quotations have been taken from the wonderful collection of taped interviews with war resisters and peace activists held in the Imperial War Museum in London. I recognised some of the material as transcripts from radio and television documentaries of several years ago. Autobiographies, published and unpublished, have also been consulted. Much of the material, the reflections and reminiscences, has

been gathered by the author through her own interviews with surviving COs and the use of their letters and personal memoirs. But at no point does she indicate where which source has provided which material — and that is really frustrating for anyone who might like to follow-up on some of these "troublesome people" whose stories are presented here in such a sensitive and sympathetic fashion.

Not just about burgers



McDonald's donated £500 to Dave Morris's son's playcentre and brought Ronald McDonald and 12 officials to their summer funday. "Kids love him. They don't know why they love him — they love him 'cos they were told to love him and somebody paid somebody to make them love him." — Geoff Giuliano, former Ronald McDonald actor.

Two Worlds Collide — The McLibel Trial (One-Off Productions Ltd, running time 52 minutes, £12.99 (waged) or £9.99 (unwaged) plus postage (£2 UK, £3 Europe, £4 world), available in PAL (UK) or NTSC (USA) formats. Please send cheque or international money order (in pounds sterling) for total amount, made payable to "One-Off Productions", to: BCM Oops, London WC1N 3XX, Britain. Indicate which format you require and include your name and address. The film can also be seen on the world wide web at: <http://www.spanner.org/mclibel/>.) Reviewed by SIMON STEVEN.

A very brave film. The characters of Helen Steel and Dave Morris emerge triumphantly. No wonder the main TV channels dare not show it.

— Ken Loach.

The trial of the century.

— Mike Mansfield QC.

Two Worlds Collide is the inside story of how a single father, Dave Morris, and a part-time bar work-

er, Helen Steel, took on burger giants McDonald's. The film reveals how English libel laws ill serve democracy or freedom of speech — anyone without fabulous wealth is usually put off. But in this case McDonald's underestimated the doggedness of Helen and Dave.

Filmed over three years, the documentary follows Helen and Dave as they are transformed from anonymous campaigners into unlikely global heroes defending themselves in the longest trial in English history. Along the way they face secret meetings with top executives, 40,000 pages of background reading, a visit from Ronald McDonald, and confirmation that the producers of the leaflet, London Greenpeace, had been infiltrated by spies.

The 52-minute documentary uses interviews with witnesses and reconstructions of key moments in court (directed by Ken Loach) to examine the main issues in the trial — nutrition, advertising, employment, animals, environment — and the implications for freedom of speech.

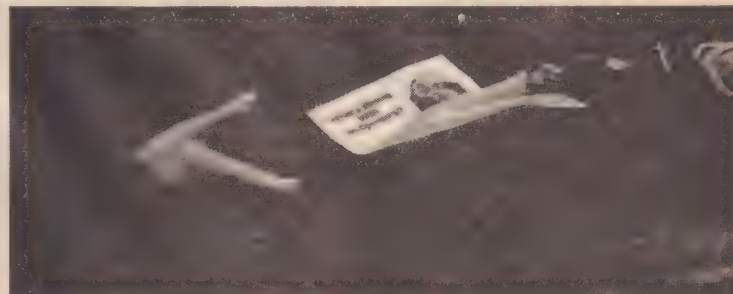
It is one of the most important trials ever. The longest ever English trial, it raises crucial questions for us all as individuals and as a society:

- Do we allow multinational companies to rule us, rather than elected bodies?
- Whose side is the law on?
- How much more like the USA do we want to be?
- Do we value capitalism and the pursuit of money over everything else?
- Should company practice be under scrutiny morally as well as legally?

Dave and Helen spent years of their lives raising these questions. They didn't do it for money, they did it because they believe McDonald's shouldn't be allowed to wield such power and have the support of the courts to do so. They acted from a sense of justice and in defence of the right to freedom of speech.

The tide has seemed to be in favour of those who would homogenise, standardise and globalise; into larger, less accountable, more powerful institutions which are inaccessible and interested only in maximum and immediate profit.

This film is beautifully shot and clearly illustrates how McLibel is not



Books

about hamburgers. It is about multinational corporations and the power they wield over our everyday lives.

Worth giving up six years of your life for?

Land rights

Marion Shoard, **This Land is Our Land** (Gaia Books 1997, ISBN 1 85675 064 7, £10.99). Reviewed by RUPERT LITHERLAND.

It wasn't that long ago that my "Stuff your Jobs — We want Land" T-shirt was regarded as either reactionary or irrelevant by many radical friends. How rapidly land rights has reared its lovely head as a serious political issue again! We've trespassed against the Criminal Justice Act; protested against roads; dug The Land is Ours; eaten the dangerous crap that agribusiness feeds us; noticed the quiet revolution of permaculturalists reclaiming patches of earth; cheered Green Belt defenders; seen the forces of reaction gather under the Countryside Alliance as proposals to ban hunting and improve public access are aired in parliament; and now, now, you can read *the book*, the comprehensive book on landholding in Britain, reprinted with impeccable timing. Phew.

Marion Shoard begins with the all-important socio-historical setting: "the idea that land should go to those who demonstrate their need for it, though unfamiliar to us, is extremely widely encountered around the globe". The Saxons, bless 'em, practised family-based co-operative farming, but corruption of this ideal was occurring even before the Norman invasion imposed a class system and culture that persists to this day. The British countryside was tailored to satisfy the passion for hunting of a few settlers. In the years that followed, rights of commons and passage were rolled back, until the advent of capitalism resulted in our ancestors being violently torn from the land and herded into factories.

Shoard exposes how deeply landholding today bears the toothmarks of Norman imperialism and the later Enclosures. In 1987 private individuals owned 87% of Britain. Despite the carefully cultivated image of the landowner as salt-of-the-earth smallholder, 96% of our farmland is held in units of over 20ha apiece, to say nothing of our vast tracts of private hunting grounds. The Ministry of Defence has over 200,000ha, as does the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, but neither seems to provide us with many vegetables. The Forestry Commission is the largest single

landowner, and has managed to decimate our ancient forests, replacing them with coniferous monoculture.

This Land is Our Land is a clinical, unemotive documentation of this hidden tragedy, but still manages to move me to tears. European policy pushes land ownership further away from the dispossessed visionaries — at the last count there are 200 in Bradford alone — who wish to use land for the enhancement of environment and community, rather than wage war on it for private profit. Of particular note is Shoard's 1997 update, outlining steps forward for the land struggle in the last decade — eg the National Trust showing the potential to be "a Trojan horse through which townspeople can challenge the traditional rural regime", and the introduction of sensible incentives, sparking a renewal in broadleaf forestry.

Shoard concludes with positive, attainable proposals of "a right of access to the countryside, and planning controls on landscape change, followed by a tax-and-grant system (whereby a tax on landholding would fund land use projects chosen by local residents) in due course". For me though, the true value of this book is its radicalising revelations; its total exposure of the tyranny of the landowning oligarchy, and the hidden history of land struggles, which can meaningfully be pursued and resolved only through revolution. George Monbiot's forward is precious: "This book will transform you, meek as you might have been, into a dogged crusader against the thieves of our inheritance."

E-zines

Eat The State!, PO Box 85541, Seattle, WA 98145, USA (+1 206 215 1156; email ets@scn.org; <http://speech.csun.edu/ben/news/ets/>).
SchNEWS, PO Box 2600, Brighton, BN2 2DX, England (+44 1273 685913; email schnews@brighton.co.uk; <http://www.cbuzz.co.uk/SchNEWS/>).

Each week the Peace News modern squeezes out two highly informative, entertaining and irreverent newsletters onto our cyberlaps. Both 'zines are also available on good ol' fashioned paper.

Eat the State!

ETS! comes out of Seattle and describes its modest politics thus: "Eat the State! is a shamelessly biased political journal. We want an end to poverty, exploitation, imperialism, militarism, racism, sexism, heterosexism, environmental destruction, television, and large ugly buildings, and we want it fucking now."

Maybe half its content focuses on Seattle politics, which is fascinating enough; the rest has zany commentaries on US life, journeys through the US media, snippets of history and a cynical dry humour skilfully blended with an understated passion.

SchNEWS!

SchNEWS is produced by a collective of assorted eco-activists, social revolutionaries and anarcho-satirists in Brighton, England. Including the infamous "Crap Arrest of the Week" and a mighty condensation of direct action from up the road and around the world, it fills a gap perhaps you never knew you possessed.

Forty years ago

Direct action needed

"Our problem basically is not so different from that of millions in the world. We cannot find political expression in Washington. This means there must be a new responsibility amongst people, and nothing short of a social organisation of personal responsibility will do it. We must use our bodies in direct action, non-co-operation, whatever is required to bring our Government to its senses."

Turning to an example of the type of action he was speaking of, Mr Rustin said: "In the United States when Government officials and the major political parties would not give justice to the masses of people in the South the people found strength and power when they organised themselves for direct action."

The Negroes of Montgomery, who conducted a year-long bus boycott against racial segregation, said: "We are going to accept responsibility ourselves. We will not co-operate with discrimination." This action had achieved "tremendous results," and today Negroes in Montgomery "are riding high with dignity because they were prepared to accept the sacrifice of walking."

"We must take the motto used by the Negroes in Montgomery. Although they are lynched, beaten, discriminated against, they accept the slogan: We shall not co-operate with Government or authority where it is wrong, but, on the other hand, when we protest we do it on the understanding that not one hair of one head of one white person is to be harmed in our struggle. We are non-violent because injury to one is injury to all."

— Bayard Rustin, addressing participants in the first Aldermaston March, Trafalgar Square, London, Good Friday, 1958 (from *PN*, 18 April 1958).

reviews

Ever wondered about paying for your next hair cut with umbrellas? It's possible in a LETS scheme.

LETS do it

● **Stephen Hancock**

LETS is basically a local money system (although some LETS schemes aren't so geographically confined). The most common interpretation of the acronym is Local Exchange Trading System. The main idea is to recognise, liberate and keep wealth within a given community — wealth not just in the form of materials, but also in the form of services, environmental improvement, human interaction and so on.

I joined my local LETS scheme in Oxford about three years ago. For a fee of £5, I received a LETS cheque book and a Directory of offers and requests.

The Oxford currency was originally called



"Oxfords", but, in response to more interesting sounding names from other towns — Bobbins, Acorns, Lunes, Umbrellas — it was changed to "Spokes" (Bicycle spokes, I presume). Fifteen spokes were knocked off my account (to pay Core Group members for their administration time) and I got to register up to eight of my own offers and requests in the Directory. And there I was, sitting in the middle of a new money system, pristine cheque book in hand and a free overdraft facility.

Basically, people read the Directory and then contact someone if they want something or think they can fulfil someone else's request. A Directory will include offers of furniture, hedge-trimming, massage, computer advice, size 8 walking boots, carpentry and so on, usually grouped into relatively sensible categories. Requests

might range from dog-walking to building a conservatory. Most initial contact is over the phone.

What's it worth

The Oxford scheme is a free market — in that everyone sets their own prices. There is no standard rate of spokes-per-hour, although most transactions look fairly connected to pounds sterling (some LETS schemes are explicitly attached to the national currency, others attached to a flat hourly rate). The main thing I offer is basic brick-laying, typically garden walls or patios. I charge between 7 and 10 spokes an hour, depending on whether or not my "customer" is prepared to work alongside me, whether or not I'm being asked to use new or old materials, whether or not the sun's shining, and so on. Every seventh hour I charge in pounds sterling, so that I can purchase or replace new tools.

The things I've purchased are massage, counselling, clothes, computer advice, canoe-hire, tool-hire, and a vegan chocolate cake.

Mind your language

The language of LETS is slightly novel — I'm not even sure if "purchase" is in order. There's no such thing as "debt" — it's called "commitment" — and credit is called "acknowledgement". There you go. You don't need to earn spokes (or whatever) before you spend, one of the recognitions being that the people who go into debt/commitment are actually the ones who liberate the wealth of the community — by stimulating work, exchange, contact. Still, when you're 500 spokes "in commitment", it feels suspiciously like being "in debt" — but maybe I'm confusing emotions, economics and etymology (more counselling!).

And that's largely it. There's a thing called the Core Group which administers and oversees the system and ensures a quarterly Directory and newsletter. A snapshot of everyone's balance is published in every quarter, which makes for good, nosy reading (imagine if your straight bank details were published!). Conceivably, you might then target someone who's got lots to spend, or is in big "commitment". Some-

times pounds sterling are exchanged for spokes.

A Core Group member might phone you up if you get over-committed, encouraging you to transact. I don't know if they also phone up those who get over-acknowledged — I hope so. People come and go through the system. Some leave "committed", which isn't ideal — you're requested to balance your account before you leave. I don't actually know what happens to such "commitments" — if they're written off that might lop-side the system (it will no longer balance at zero), and could conceivably cause inflation. Most systems in Britain seem to hover between 100 and 500 members, and I don't think there's been much intentional ripping-off — perhaps that would come with larger numbers.

What I like about LETS

I've done things, and bought things, I couldn't have afforded in the straight economy. And generally, people are pretty friendly — there's a welcome social dimension to wealth creation. It's good to know that the money is staying within the community, and that you're not bolstering the likes of multinational corporations or high street supermarkets. And I do think such systems have radical potential — any revolutionary movement requires practical economic exchange systems sooner or later.

What I don't like about the system

My worst experience was doing some baby-sitting one evening and being merrily offered 3 spokes per hour at the end of it all. Actually, the bad bit was accepting 3 spokes per hour and not complaining. The system, in its own free-market way, and me had both internalised the crap value system of the "outside world". Twenty spokes an hour for massage, ten for sticking one brick onto another, and three for looking after demanding, precious human beings. Nothing new, but shocking because I'd assumed things would be different. I guess I should raise the issue in my newsletter, but haven't yet. What else? Well, the



Oxford system is a bit monocultural, dominated by the green-leaning middle classes — there's the danger that LETS becomes a comfortable club, devoid of diversity and wider appeal.

All said (and not mentioning all the other fascinating philosophical and economical debates in and around LETS), I'd recommend anyone living near such a system to give it a go for a year, and see if it adds to your life (and vice versa). My main mistake was sitting around at the beginning, assuming things would happen to me — you have to get out there and start trading. If there isn't such a system nearby, why not try and set one up? You have nothing to lose but your acorns...

Letslink UK, 2 Kent Road, Portsmouth PO1 3BS, UK (tel +44 1705 730639; email 104047.2250@compuserve.com; <http://www.communities.org.uk/lets>). If requesting information about local UK schemes, please enclose six loose second class stamps. The Letslink website has links to other sites around the world.
Edmonton LETS, PO Box 72042, Ottewell Postal Station, Edmonton, AB, T6B 3A7, Canada (<http://www.freenet.edmonton.ab.ca/lets>).

GRAPHICS: SARAH JOHN/OXFORD LETS



We welcome your letters, but please keep them concise. Please send them to Peace News Letters, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DY, Britain, or by fax to +44 171 278 0444; or by e-mail to peacenews@gn.apc.org. We reserve the right not to publish any letter. (*) indicates a letter has been edited.)

Peter and the Trident

In *Peter and the Wolf*, the Russian folk tale immortalised in Prokofiev's music, Peter deals resolutely with the wolf, while his old grandfather trails along behind grumbling: "But what if...?"

I've long respected Michael Randle's decisive actions over things in which he passionately believes, and I shall continue to do so. Over Trident Ploughshares 2000 ["Symbolic or direct disarmament?"], March *PN*], however, Michael seems to be the grandfather, while I intend to be one of those who deal with the wolf.

Peter Lanyon, Suffolk, England

Veganism and rationalism*

Katy Andrews (*PN* Letters, Feb 98) has doubts about my intentions concerning a self-sufficient vegan commune. She presumes it's impossible to be self-sufficiently vegan in the northern hemisphere. She is right, if the criteria are current standards of living and convenience. However, life was here before the 20th century. Peasants made their living and survived by drying fruit and storing both fruit and vegetables in cellars. And by eating a lot less! In the Himalayas, the Hunsa people survived for generations in very healthy physical conditions on dried apricots that they stored for winter; and when the apricots didn't suffice — they fasted... thereby making their bodies clean and healthy (see the British Doctor's report in his book from 1939, stating he had nothing to do there...).

It's impossible to be really self-sufficient in a travelling commune. That idea came to my mind as the result of failing to find an existing commune or people to start a new one on land.

I suggest to highly sophisticated Katy: instead of learning so much about theories and researches, let's practise and experiment in doing and making "the impossible". In order to convince the unconvincible, we must live it not preach it. Nonviolence that is not based on integral life — ie life in all its embodiments — is not valid and is ignorable.

In the meanwhile, I moved back to my birthplace, Budapest. Here I try now to start a similar commune *on land* — that is very cheap here as long as the money with me is British... I invite Katy to join me here, as well as others.

The term rational is rational; the term reasonable is English and semantical. Peter Lumsden seems to mix and blur the two. Also his claiming (*PN* Letters, Feb 98) that all people are reasonable, meaning either one or the other of these or both — is incorrect. I think he would be right to say that all people use their mind, or reason, in order to communicate their thoughts, feelings, ideas, etc. But this is not rationality. Rationality is analytic. Mystical people, those who "don't need to explain because it is so" or those who "don't argue" are running away from analysis, therefore from facts and truth. There might be good-willing and good-doing people who are such because of mystical concepts; just as there might be very rational people who are mean, unjust and evil. However, with rational arguments there is always a way to cope. Reason versus reason. The moment the evil and mean fail to bring up another argument — that would bring about a violent act; because violence is based on fear and fear breaches reason. Fear is the source of the mystical need for mystical explanations.

By stating in my advert that rationalism is the only way to peace I meant only that by exchanging ideas and analysing them and the facts can we reach peace.

Speaking in the languages of many people means also to get involved in violence, "because that's the language they understand"... this is not nonviolent nor pacifistic. Of course, one should fit the words to the comprehension of the listener but one cannot argue against a false reasoning by another fallacy. Speaking to people isn't easy, fact! But letting the occult and the mystical make the world crazy and exploited (by their even commercialising "god" and "the divine") is not responsible either.

Toma Sik

Pf 653, H-1243 Budapest 5, Hungary

Aid the Iraqi opposition

I wish to offer my warmest and most sincere congratulations to David McReynolds and Felicity Arbuthnot on their excellent articles dealing with the current situation in Iraq.

Being an American Socialist, David McReynolds cannot stand those sanctions and opposes any kind of strike against Iraq to put an end to this crisis. Those Socialists of ours in the French government are not opposing a military strike on ideological grounds, but simply in order to save their possible future deals with Iraq when the sanctions are lifted. I just can't understand that — they're making plans to conduct trade with a country that remains one of the worst dictatorships on earth and the worst in the Middle East, and whose head of state had no trouble killing his

Kurdish and Shi'ite citizens and invading his Iranian and Kuwaiti neighbours? That is nothing socialist and even less French.

For seven years, the five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council have been making "War against the people of Iraq" — in *Peace News*'s terms — by renewing sanctions we know never worked and have only rendered the Iraqi people even more supportive of Saddam Hussein.

To really get rid of Saddam Hussein, the US should finally allow the sanctions to be lifted and start giving aid to the Iraqi opposition. This should start with finding common ground between this wide range of organisations whose differences seem irretrievably irreconcilable. For instance, the Islamists and Communists cannot bear to find themselves together in the same room.

Bernard Henry, Garches, France

Memories of Iraq*

Recent TV images of the bombed Amiriyah shelter brought back many shocking memories to me. After being a part of the Gulf Peace Camp, 9-12 January 1991, I returned to Baghdad after the war early April to early May 1991. Staying at the Red Crescent Hospital closed as a hospital, but opened to International Peace and Religious groups, I was able to visit two children's hospitals, and also the bombed shelter 6 weeks after the event.

The shelter was dark and overpowering. They took us first down to where the generators had been, filthy black water stayed on my shoes for days. There was a gaping jagged hole in the roof. I found a playing card, I picked it up — I still have it. Outside, black banners across the house opposite. Two fathers came over — one spoke to me: The children loved going down there every night, there were generators for light and they watched videos — and they couldn't hear the bombing. But one morning they did not emerge.

There are other memories — civilian houses damaged by cruise missiles which had been hit and gone off course. It is known that one RAF plane bombed a market and that a later cruise missile hit the Al Rashid hotel where we had stayed on return from the Peace Camp. And some months after, Dr Hoskins, our Gulf Peace Team doctor, wrote about the mysterious illness shown by children found to be contaminated from the depleted uranium bullets scattered around. One was found by a German doctor on the highway to Amman. He was arrested on arrival at the airport in Germany, as radiation was detected.

These are some of the legacies of a war considered by some a "Victory".

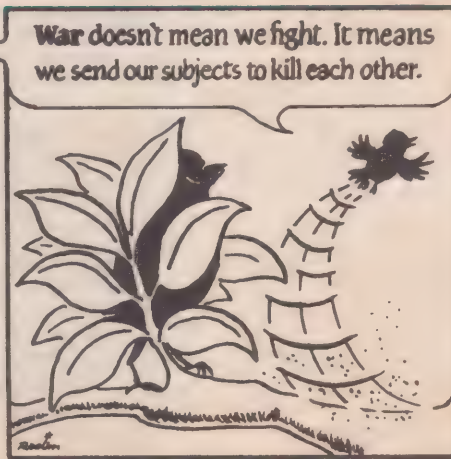
Peggie Preston, London

Letters

Room with a view



Er... I said nothing about fighting. What I said was this means war.



events

These listings are a free service and only include events specifically inviting international participation. Priority is given to free events and actions. Please send information well in advance (see p2 for final deadline). Include a contact address and phone number, indicating if these are not for publication.

Please include access information for wheelchair users and others with disabilities, and details like crèche facilities.

If you're not able to make it to an event listed here (perhaps it's on the other side of the world), remember that most campaigns very much appreciate international support and solidarity actions.

5-12 April

Compassion for Iraq

USA: The US Fellowship of Reconciliation has declared this a National Week of Compassion for the People of Iraq, in an effort to end economic sanctions on Iraq. FOR has produced an information pack including suggestions for: fasting; vigiling; writing letters of forgiveness to the people of Iraq; and sending packets of rice or lentils to President Clinton (representing the daily ration of food for the people of Iraq). FOR, 521 North Broadway, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, USA (tel +1 914 358 4601; fax 358 4924; email format@igc.org; http://www.nonviolence.org/for).

10-13 April

Healing global wounds

Nevada, USA: Spring gatherings and NVDA at Nevada Test Site. Indigenous delegations from Australia, Taiwan and other native nations expected. Contact: Healing Global Wounds, PO Box 13, Boulder Creek, CA 95006, USA (+1 408 338 0147); Nevada Desert Experience, PO Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV (+1 702 646 4814; fax 631 5538; email nde@igc.org; http://www.shundahai.org).

1 May

End corporate dominance

Everywhere: Day of action called by Center for Campus Organizing, calling on students and community members to "take direct action against transnational corporate control of our communities and our society". Contact: Center for Campus Organizing, PO Box 748, Cambridge, MA 02142, USA (+1 617 354 9363; email cco@igc.apc.org; http://www.cco.org/)

2 May

Trident Ploughshares 2000



Britain: Launch of "Pledge to Prevent Nuclear Crime". See pages 10-11 this issue. Contact: Trident Ploughshares 2000, 42-46

Bethel Street, Norwich, Norfolk NR2 1NR, Britain (+44 1603 611953; fax 666879).

9 May

In defence of primates

Holzheim, France: International demonstration against building of National Primate Breeding Centre at Holzheim, near

Volunteers for Chiapas

Servicio Internacional para la Paz (SIPAZ) is looking for long-term volunteers to join team in Chiapas, Mexico. Volunteers must be able to speak Spanish, have a commitment to nonviolence, and be comfortable working with faith-based groups. Contact: SIPAZ, PO Box 2415, Santa Cruz, CA 95063, USA (tel & fax +1 408 425 1257; email sipaz@igc.org).

16-17 May

Global Street Party!

Everywhere: Think globally, party locally! Coinciding with the G8 meeting in Birmingham, England (where world leaders of the eight largest economies meet to make decisions about the future of the planet and its people), the call is going out for Street Parties of celebratory resistance to be held across the globe: Global resistance to global capitalism! International award for the best dress.

Contact: Reclaim the Streets, PO Box 9656, London N4 4JY, England (+44 171 281 4621; email rts@gn.apc.org; http://www.hrc.wmin.ac.uk/campaigns/rts.html).



PHOTO: ALEC SMART

Strasbourg. At 1.30pm people will set off from Strasbourg (including by bike — there will be 100 bikes for hire). Contact: Comité de Strasbourg, 20 rue de la Broque, 67000 Strasbourg, France (tel & fax +33 3 88 65 05 32; email thierry.ruch@hol.fr).

15 May

International CO's Day

Everywhere: Contact your local WRI affiliate for details of activities, or the WRI office at 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, Britain (+44 171 278 4040; fax 278 0444; email warresisters@gn.apc.org; http://www.gn.apc.org/warresisters).

20-24 May

Hope & Resistance



Near Kiel, Germany: Gathering organised by and for ploughshares and other radical nonviolent activists.

Workshops, walks, radical democracy and self-entertainment. Working language English. More details and copy of Hope & Resistance Handbook: Hope & Resistance, Box X, 111 Magdalen Road, Oxford OX4 1RQ, Britain (email stephen@gn.apc.org).

24 May

Women's peace day

Everywhere: International Women's Day for Peace and Disarmament (details in January PN). Contact: IPB, 41 rue de Zürich, 1201 Genève, Switzerland (+41 22 731 6429; fax 738 9419; email ipb@gn.apc.org; http://www.itu.ch/ipb/).

29-31 May

European Peace Congress

Osnabrück, Germany: Conscientious objection as a human right, political-pacifist peace concepts, protection of war refugees and COs, and non-military means and strategies for settling conflicts. Contact: European Peace Congress Osnabrück 1998, Postfach 4124, D-49031 Osnabrück, Germany (+49 541 260650; fax 260680; email PeaceCongress1998@t-online.de; http://www.dfg-vk.de/peacecongress1998).

31 May 1998 - June 1999

Retracing journey of slavery

United States, Caribbean, Brazil, West Africa, South Africa: Pilgrimage retracing journey of victims of slave trade (see January PN). Contact: Middle Passage Pilgrimage, c/o First Congregational Church, Room 11, 165 Main Street, Amherst, MA 01002, USA (+1 413 256 6698). European parallel walk: London

Peace Pagoda, c/o Park Manager's Office, Battersea Park, London SW11 4NJ, Britain (+44 171 228 9620).

1-3 June

Stop EuroSatory arms fair

Bourget, near Paris, France: Demonstration calling for end to arms exports to repressive regimes or regions of tension and for closure of EuroSatory arms fair. Contact: European Network Against Arms Trade, c/o Pesthuislaan 39, 1054 RH Amsterdam, Netherlands (tel & fax +31 20 61 64 684; email amokmar@antenna.nl).

10-14 June

CO Gathering

Thessaloniki, Greece: Meeting of Conscientious Objectors from South-Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Organised by the Association of Greek Conscientious Objectors and the Information Centre for Ecology, Peace and Nonviolence. Contact: Association of Greek COs, Valtetsiou 35, 10682 Athina, Greece (+30 1 3813 928; fax 3840 390).

13-28 June

Nonviolence training

Wustrow, Germany: International training for nonviolence: nonviolence in the context of war or armed conflict (in English). Contact: KURVE Wustrow, 14 Kirchstr, 29462 Wustrow, Germany (+49 5843 507; fax 5843 1405; email kurve-wustrow@oln.comlink.apc.org).

14-16 June

Reclaim Europe!

Cardiff, Wales: Three days of meetings, actions and partying — in parallel with annual summit of European leaders. The last alternative Eurosummit in Amsterdam attracted over 200,000 people from across Europe (see PN July 1997). Contact: Reclaim Europe, 115a Jerningham Rd, New Cross Gate, London SE14 5NH (email europ@globalnet.co.uk; http://www.geocities.com/rainforest/5581).

16 June

International Refugee Day

Everywhere: Day of activities organised by many refugee support and human rights organisations. Contact: UNITED for Inter-cultural Action, Postbus 413, NL-1000 AK Amsterdam, Netherlands (+31 20 6834778; fax 6834582; email united@antenna.nl; http://www.xs4all.nl/~united).

21-23 June

Human Rights Conference

Fujen University, Taiwan: International Conference on Human Rights and Values

in East Asia. Topics covered: Who speaks for Asia? The Contribution of Religion; Globalisation and Human Rights; Time for an Asian Charter of Human Rights? Free, but registration required. Contact: John Paul II Peace Institute, Fujen University, 242 Hsinchuang, Taiwan (fax +886 2 2904 3586; email jdp2097@fujens.fju.edu (write "Human Rights" in subject line)).

July

Cranes for Peace Festival

Kochi, Japan: People throughout the world invited to send messages of peace and folded cranes to Kochi peace festival: 9-11 Mazugata, Kochi City, Kochi Pref, Japan 780 (fax +81 888 210586; email GRH@ma1.seikyoku.ne.jp).

1-9 August

Pax Christi "Route"

Ireland: "Integrating the Past, Re-Imagining the Future". A week of walking and meeting organised by Pax Christi International. Contact: Suzanne Skrimshire, 21 Rue du Vieux Marché aux Grains, 1000 Bruxelles, Belgium (+32 2 5025550; fax 5024626; email Suzanne.Skrimshire@pci.ngonet.be).

11-25 August

Trident Ploughshares 2000



Faslane, Scotland: Two-week disarmament camp at Trident nuclear weapons base. See 2 May.

17-19 August

People for Peace

Burg Schlaining, Austria: Conference to provide input to 1999 Hague Peace Conference (details Feb issue). Contact: Basil Massey, Gutenbergstrasse 31, 44139 Dortmund, Germany (+49 231 575202; fax 575210; email R.Braun@lilly.ping.de).

19-24 September

WRI Triennial

Poreč, Croatia: War Resisters' International Triennial Conference on theme "Choosing Peace Together" (see February issue for more details). Contact: WRI, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, Britain (+44 171 278 4040; fax 278 0444; email warresisters@gn.apc.org).



Biramo CHOOSING Mr PEACE Zajedno TOGETHER

26-27 September

Asylum in Europe

Oxford, England: Asylum in a Frontier-Free Europe. Contact: Refugee Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House,

7-26 February 1999

Acting for the Earth

Schumacher College, England: A three-week residential course at Schumacher College, an international centre for ecological studies. "From Gandhi to Martin Luther King and from Greenpeace to Earth First!" Taught by leading activists from three continents — Sunderlal Bahuguna, Wangari Maathai and Andrew Kimbrell — this course examines different strategies — from direct action to grassroots education, and from legal battles to gentle persuasion — enabling participants to find their own most effective ways to act for the earth in their own countries and communities. Scholarships available.

Contact: Schumacher College, The Old Postern, Dartington, Totnes, Devon TQ9 6EA, UK (tel +44 1803 865934; fax: 866899; email: schumcoll@gn.apc.org; <http://www.gn.apc.org/schumachercollege/>).

The Gandalf Three

The "Gandalf Three" — Stephen Booth, Noel Molland and Saxon Wood — were jailed for three years by an English court in November, having been convicted of "conspiring to incite persons unknown to commit criminal damage".

This conviction was based on their involvement with the British-based magazine, *Green Anarchist* (see December PN). They were jailed on the basis of the written words — the Judge declaring that "those who report direct action, wishing it to happen" were the same as terrorists. An international support campaign has been launched — groups and individuals are urged to publicise and sign the Solidarity Pledge below. Although *Green Anarchist* is not committed to nonviolence, *Peace News* is supporting the defence campaign on the grounds of freedom of speech, fully aware that we also report direct action — often wishing it to happen. (Two of the prisoners — Saxon and Noel — describe their politics as nonviolent.)

Robin Webb (Press spokesperson for the Animal Liberation Front) and Paul Rogers (editor of *Green Anarchist*) are due to go to trial — on the same charges, and before the same judge — on 27 April at Portsmouth Crown Court. The name GANDALF comes from *Green Anarchist* and Animal Liberation Front. Please write to the three prisoners (include a return address, and remember that all letters are liable to be read by prison authorities):

Steve Booth (CK4323), HMP Lancaster, Lancaster Castle, Lancaster, LA1 1YL, England; **Saxon Wood** (CK4322), HMP Send, Ripley Road, Woking, Surrey GU23 7LJ, England; **Noel Molland** (CK4321), HMP Channings Wood, Denbury, Newton Abbot, Devon, TQ12 6DW, England. Further enquiries: **Gandalf Defendants Campaign**, PO Box 66, Stevenage, SG1 2TR, England.

Solidarity Pledge

We call on all publications to fairly report the Gandalf case and the issues involved.

We pledge our solidarity with the Gandalf defendants, and call for the three jailed editors of *Green Anarchist* to be freed and for the outstanding legal actions against the two remaining defendants to be abandoned.

We pledge to throw our weight behind the campaign to support the independent and radical press, and to defend the freedom to report news of direct actions and protests.

We pledge to report news of direct actions and protests whenever and however we see fit, and we will resist any attempts to censor journals or organisations which exercise such freedoms.

Signed
Group (if applicable)
Address

Return to: LGSC c/o London Greenpeace, Panther House, 38 Mount Pleasant, London WC1X 0AP, England (email: lgp@envirolink.org).

Oxford, England (tel +44 1865 270722; email rsp@qeh.ox.ac.uk).

16-19 October

75th anniversary of WRL

USA: Major conference, demonstrations and civil disobedience, and second Day Without the Pentagon, Washington, DC, USA. Contact: War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, USA (+1 212 228 0450; fax 228 6193; email wrl@igc.org; <http://www.nonviolence.org/wrl>).



15-19 November

Beyond Growth

Santiago, Chile: Beyond Growth: Policies and Institutions for Sustainability. Conference organised by International Society for Ecological Economics. Contact: e-mail iseecon@abello.dic.uchile.cl or visit <http://www.uchile.cl/facultades/ISEE3.html>.

10 March 1999 – 12 Oct

Free Tibet bike tour

Switzerland to Nepal: For Mother Earth Free Tibet Bike Tour in 1999, marking the 50th anniversary of Chinese invasion. Details in last December's PN. Contact: For Mother Earth International, Lange Steenstr 16/D, 9000 Gent, Belgium (tel & fax +32 9 233 8439; email tibet@motherearth.knooppunt.be; <http://www.motherearth.org/>).

10-15 May 1999

Hague Appeal for Peace

The Hague, Netherlands: World Wide Citizens' Peace conference, Sponsors include International Peace Bureau. Themes include strengthening international law and institutions, conflict prevention and resolution, post-conflict reconciliation, disarmament, peacekeeping, peace education, culture of peace... Contact: Hague Office, IALANA International Secretariat, Anna Paulownastraat 103, 2518 BC Den Haag, Netherlands (+31 70 3634484; fax 3455951; email ialana@antenna.nl).

subscribed campaign

QUAKER PEACE & SERVICE (QPS) QPS REPRESENTATIVE (OR JOINT REPRESENTATIVES) IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Quaker Peace & Service is looking for one or two QPS Representatives in the former Yugoslavia, based in Sarajevo. The appointment is for one year in the first instance though it would be hoped that a suitable candidate might wish to extend their service for anything up to a further four years.

This is a new post intended to take the existing QPS programme into a new phase.

The role of the Representative will be to act as a support and consultant to key voluntary groups working for peaceful change within the region and helping to improve their contacts with the outside world.

All candidates will be expected to have or be able to acquire rapidly a good working knowledge of Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian language eg through a thorough grounding in another Slavonic language. Experience of living and working abroad, preferably in the specific region of FY is required. Extensive familiarity with the recent history and problems of the region, together with established contacts with voluntary groups will be an advantage.

These are volunteer positions, with a fixed living allowance, but including first class social security, pension, resettlement and other allowances.

For more details and an application form contact:

Personnel Section, QPS, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ. Telephone 0171 663 1151. Email: Jennwood@quaker.org.uk
Please quote reference QPS5.

Closing date for applications: 10 April 1998.

QUAKER PEACE & SERVICE PEACE WORKER IN BRITAIN

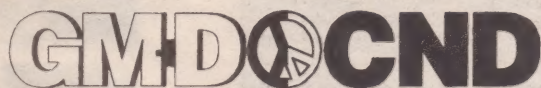
Develop your skills in campaigning, organising and communication

QPS is seeking a young Friend or person in sympathy with the Society (an older beginner might also be considered) who wishes to develop their strong interest in peace and justice by working with a national group in Britain. The aim is to match the interests and skills of the worker with the receiving organisation. The work will be varied but sometimes routine; involvement in a specific project may be possible. Main qualifications for this post are: adaptability, patience, self-discipline and an outgoing personality.

The placement attracts a modest maintenance allowance, accommodation and fares paid, plus savings and pension provision.

For more details contact: **Personnel Section, QPS, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2BJ.** Telephone 0171 663 1151. Email: Veronica@quakers.org.uk
Please quote reference QPS4.

Closing date for applications: 9 April 1998



One World Centre, 6 Mount St, Manchester, M2 5NS
Tel 0161 834 8301 Fax 834 8187 E-mail: gmdcnd@gn.apc.org

Part - Time Administrative Support Worker

Enthusiastic, competent person committed to the aims of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament sought for 17.5 hours per week post for a six month post based in central Manchester.

Salary: £13,000 pro rata

Please write to the address above for job description and application form. No CVs please.

Closing date - noon, 22nd April. Interviews will be held on Tuesday May 12th

ATTENTION Immigration Lawyers and Advocates,

Human Rights Workers and Peace Organisations:

Refusing to Bear Arms is a comprehensive, worldwide survey on conscription and conscientious objection in a country-by-country format — the only reference book of its kind.

- ✓ Are there any provisions for conscientious objection in Turkey?
- ✓ What is the penalty for deserting from the armed forces in Algeria?
- ✓ Are draft evaders in Colombia really searched for and imprisoned?

Refusing to Bear Arms has the answers. First-hand information from both governmental and non-governmental organisations and experts. Both the official articulation of the laws and the actual practice and application of those laws are discussed. Available now: Part 1, Europe.

FOR MORE INFORMATION AND AN ORDER FORM:

Contact WRI/CO Handbook at 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX. Fax +44 171 278 0444.

Email warresisters@gn.apc.org (Subject: CO Handbook).

Chartist

Radical bi-monthly journal of debate and analysis.
Latest issue includes:

- ❑ Ken Coates: socialist MEPs jumped or pushed?
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- ❑ Plus Greenwatch, Film 98 & much more!

Send £12 now for a year's subscription to:

Chartist, 18 Southcote Road, London N19 5BJ

Welfare Before Warheads

Saturday 9th MAY '98

♀♀ Women are gathering around the nuclear base: ♀♀

AWE ALDERMASTON (Nr. Reading)

♀♀♀♀ from noon onwards ♀♀♀♀

to make the links between benefit cuts and military spending
pin your issues on the fence - add your concerns - make your voice heard!

For regional contacts/coaches, call/fax : 01703 554434 e-mail: nipdimac@gn.apc.org

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 Please mention Peace News when replying to advertisements.

PERSONAL

● **I WAITED 2 HOURS** outside the Imperial War Museum (with a copy of Peace News under my arm). Was this a joke? Or a mistake? Please contact to re-arrange. Box 206, Peace News.

● **JOIN THE HAPPY BAND** of Peace News sellers. You only have to pay for copies you sell: and you can keep 50% of that! Details from: PN, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 (tel 0171-278 3344). London area would-be sellers please note: there are regular street-selling sessions. Meet outside British Museum entrance, Great Russell St, London WC1, at 2.30pm on the first Saturday each month.

● **"YOU SHOULD NOT KILL** more people than you want to eat." Halldor Laxness, Icelandic pacifist, Nobel Prize Winner.

● **YOU ARE UNIQUE.** Discover your full potential from your horoscope. For birth chart and 20-page A4 reading, send your date, time and place of birth, and cheque for £15, to Carey Blanden, Kirkgate House, Cockermouth, Cumbria, CA13 9NS. Tel 01900 822908. For relationship reading send £20.00 and two sets of details.

● **PEACE DEPENDS ON RATIONALITY**, and cannot be achieved while people are fooled by mysticism, horoscopes, religion, superstition, and the like. Box 205, Peace News.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

● **HELP USE ONLY PLANTS** to overcome hunger. Campaigners needed for awareness project. Write to 38 Hampden Road, Hitchin, Herts SG4 0LD.

● **ARE YOU INTERESTED** in a "PLOUGHSHARES-STYLE" action for the environment? Write to Dept 126, 1 Newton Street, Manchester M1 1HW.

VIETNAM

Commemorate an event and help re-green Vietnam.
 £5 plants a tree in the "Forest of Friendship".
 SAE to Len Aldis, Sec, Britain-Vietnam Friendship Society, Flat 2, 26 Tomlins Grove, London E3 4NX.

● **NOT THE NATIONAL LOTTERY!** The PPU supporters Prize Club. Your £5 per month supports the main British pacifist organisation, and gives you a chance of monthly, quarterly and annual prizes. SAE for details to: John Stringer, 12 Groveside, Yoxford, Saxmundham IP17 3HT, Suffolk.

● **THE INTERNATIONAL** Institute of Peace Studies and Global Philosophy plans to publish a Multicultural Dictionary of Peace. Info and contributions: Thomas Daffern, project leader, tel 01386-750965; Gordana Netkowska, production editor, tel 0181-203 2200.

● **THE ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP** — a registered charity — believes that profession of faith in

Jesus Christ requires the repudiation of all war. We seek to witness to this belief within the Anglican Communion at all levels from parish to Lambeth Conference. Information from: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 11 Weavers End, Hanslope, Milton Keynes, MK19 7PA.

EVENTS

● **THE BRINDISI STRING QUARTET** play Beethoven and Schubert in a concert for peace. Plus speaker, Nobel Prize Winner Joseph Rotblat. London NW11, Saturday 2 May. Details and tickets from: Musicians Against Nuclear Arms, tel 0181-455 1030.

● **THE PEACE NEWS PACKING EXPERIENCE:** why not come and help pack Peace News? Normally a Wednesday. You're welcome any time — at 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N1 (close to Kings Cross stations) — from mid-morning until evening. Refreshments provided! Ring 0171-278 3344 to confirm date and time.

RETREATS

● **THE BODY IN FOCUS.** 29/30/31 May in Newmarket, Suffolk. W/fe Retreat using T'ai Chi, Chi Kung, Meditation, etc. All welcome. Phone Mike Tabrett, 01223-503390, for details.

● **TIME TO RETREAT?** Individual retreats — 5/7 day alternative holiday retreats at Higher Boden, a magical place of re-creation and retreat for those in search of their own inner wisdom and direction, or a place to rest. Higher Boden, Manaccan, Helston, Cornwall TR12 6EN, GB. Tel: 01326 231587.

HOLIDAYS

● **NORTH WALES**, near Snowdonia National Park and coast, small stone cottages at fairly remote, quiet, organic farm, secluded valley surrounded by green rolling hills. Budget prices, from £99/week (£40 weekend) for cottage suitable for two people (including central heating!). Phone/fax for information leaflet. Roger/Chris 01745-870426.

● **LAKES (Duddon).** Self-catering, inexpensive rooms sharing writer's remote farmhouse. Discounts unwaged. (01229) 716612.

● **SEAFRONT FLATS**, self-catering. SAE: 119 Marina, St Leonards, TN38 0BN. Hastings (01424) 430738.

ACCOMMODATION

● **ROOM + QUARTER** of study, plus allotment, to let in communal house - sharing with 3 adults, one child and a cat. In East Finchley, London. Contact Mii or Emily, 0181-444 1605.

● **SMALL RADICAL HOUSING CO-OPERATIVE** committed to nonviolent revolution seeks new members. Send description of self and politics: Jigsaw, Box X, 111 Magdalen Road, Oxford OX4 1RQ.

WRI STAFF MEMBER

urgently seeks self-contained flat somewhere in London.
 Would pay up to £350pm (£300pm if in outer London).
 Contact: Roberta Bacic, c/o War Resisters' International, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 (tel 0171-278 4040).

VOLUNTEERS

BALKAN PEACE TEAM

needs volunteers for its projects in Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
 Contact: BPT, Ringstr 9a, 32427 Minden, Germany (e-mail balkan-peace-team@bionic.zerbus.de).

PUBLICATIONS

● **AMAZING 400-ITEM** brochure of self- and life-improvement subjects. 4 x 1st Class stamps for a copy by return. New Era Tapes and Publications (PN), 6 Little Bayhill Terrace, Cheltenham, Glos, GL50 3QE.

TESTIMONIES OF CONSCIENCE sent from the Soviet Union to the War Resisters' International 1923-1929.

New pamphlet edited by Peter Brock.
 44pp. £3.00 including postage from: War Resisters' International, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX.

● **THE HOUSMANS WORLD PEACE DATABASE** — the authoritative listing of peace organisations. Now covers over 3000 national and international organisations in more than 150 countries, including main groups in related fields such as environmental and human rights campaigning. Available in print, on labels, on computer disc, and on-line on some APC networks. Details: Housmans Peace Resource Project, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, UK (tel +44-171-278 4474; fax +44-171-278 0444; e-mail world-peace@gn.apc.org). The database editor can also give help with more

detailed enquiries, which might not be answered simply by reference to the database listings.

REFUSING TO BEAR ARMS

- a world-wide survey of conscription and conscientious objection to military service.

The first of two parts (this part covering most countries in Europe) of a comprehensive international handbook for immigrants specialists, CO groups, and advocates for refugees seeking asylum.

A series of individual country reports covers all key issues related to compulsory military service.

Contact: War Resisters' International, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX, UK; fax +44-171-278 0444; e-mail warresisters@gn.apc.org.

● **VOHAN NEWS INTERNATIONAL.** Magazine of the Vegan Organic Network (Horticulture-Agriculture) - VOHAN. For those who are moving towards a green, sustainable and non-violent world. £1.75 for current copy, or £5.00 for a year's subscription. Contact: David Graham, VOHAN, Anandavan, 58 High Lane, Manchester M21 (tel 0161-860 4869).

FOR SALE

● **SECONDHAND BOOKS** — extensive collection — peace, nuclear power, nuclear weapons, international politics, etc. Catalogue available. Phone 01550-750260 for details.

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We specialise in unbleached cotton and hemp t-shirts.
 Best possible prices & no VAT. For pricelist / free advice contact: OX4 T-Shirts, 38 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1HZ; tel 01865-722184.

● **RADICAL POSTCARDS AND T-SHIRTS.** For free catalogue contact: IBAS, 34 Saxon Place, Horton Kirby, Dartford, Kent DA4 9JG. Tel 01322-865114.

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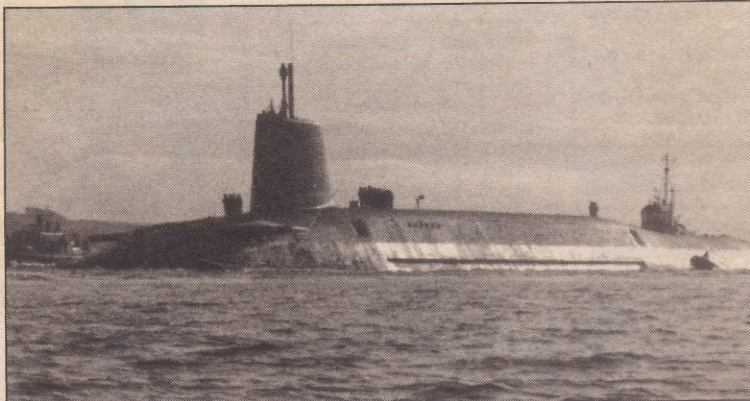
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Important: Please note that we cannot accept cash in any currency. Thank you.
Please, if you can, include a donation to help support the work of Peace News.

SHOCK! HORROR!



Military officials and world leaders have been informed of attempts by *Peace News* to acquire new subs.

Peace News in New Subs Scandal

Secret documents, copies of which have been obtained by our internal affairs correspondent, reveal well-advanced, top-level plans by at least two *Peace News* editors to acquire their own fleet of fully-independent, multily-retargetable new subs. With the offer of a free copy of *Gathering Visions*, *Gathering Strength* — a massive 40 page classified document, a copy of which has been obtained by our pulp romance correspondent — the breakaway editors hope to significantly increase their power base, sources close to sources on the board of *Peace News Limited* recently revealed.

"When truth gives way to cheap marketing stunts", said former *Peace News* editor Timmon Wallis — now coordinator of the highly influential National Peace Council — in an exclusive interview, "then there's only one thing to do: take out a subscription and effect change from within. It's no use standing on the outside complaining. If only a hundred new activists subscribed, they could make all the difference."

When our undercover reporter, skillfully masquerading as a drunken eco-activist, phoned the secretive *Peace News* offices, believed to be accessible only through the back of a dodgy central London bookshop, a male Scottish accent denied any knowledge of the paper — or its rearmament plans — and instead tried to off-load our reporter with 200 copies of an obscure 1970s pamphlet entitled *The Windworkers' Manual*.

The case continues on page 37.

Go on, then, send me the next eleven issues of *Peace News* and a copy of *Gathering Visions*, *Gathering Strength*.

I enclose for the sub and a donation of towards your work.

(for subscription rates, see bottom of page 23)

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